

IN  
64  
612c  
1907

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY



WORLD SOCIALIST SERIES

# CLASS STRUGGLES IN AMERICA

A. M. SIMONS



THE LIBRARY  
OF  
THE UNIVERSITY  
OF CALIFORNIA  
LOS ANGELES

F. W. Fletcher

1951







# CLASS STRUGGLES IN AMERICA

BY

A. M. SIMONS

EDITOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

*THIRD EDITION, REVISED AND ENLARGED,  
WITH NOTES AND REFERENCES*

---

CHICAGO  
CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY  
1907

COPYRIGHT, 1903, BY CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY

COPYRIGHT, 1906, BY CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY



PRESS OF  
JOHN F. HIGGINS  
CHICAGO



HN  
64  
12  
107

## PREFACE

Whether consciously or not every writer upon historical topics adopts some philosophy of social development and writes from the standpoint of some social class. He must do so if his work is to be anything more than a mere chronology, and even then a selection of events to be chronicled will be influenced by his attitude of mind and theory of society. Therefore I make no apology for having consciously written from the point of view of the working class, or for my belief that the socialist philosophy of history offers the true key to the progress of events. This philosophy is succinctly expressed in the quotation upon the opposite page in the statement that all history is the "history of class struggles."

Since the appearance of private property some one social class has always owned and controlled the instruments by which wealth was produced and distributed. This class by virtue of its ownership becomes the social rulers and fashions social institutions in its interest.

The methods of producing wealth are always

changing. Chipped stone gave way to polished and this in turn to bronze and iron tools, and these were finally displaced by the complex machine. As a result hunting and fishing were followed by agriculture and this in turn by machineofacture as the basis of social production.

These changes in the method of wealth creation constantly rendered the owner of outgrown methods superfluous and brought new classes of owners to the front. The conflicting interests of the outgrown and the coming social classes have given rise to great revolutionary class struggles that accomplished fundamental social transformations. Along with these larger conflicts went minor struggles between classes having more or less divergent economic interests as to details. These formed political parties, factions and divisions, the story of which makes up the great mass of history.

Each social stage contains as a part of its intellectual and institutional fabric much that is inherited from previous environments. These idealistic influences often play a great part in determining the course that society shall take. They are the material upon which each new social stage must work in building up a form of society suited to its needs. If these inherited ideas and institutions are not adapted to social

progress, in the sense of a better control of environment, then they will either disappear or social evolution will be checked.

This view of history imputes no moral condemnation to the commercial, financial and manufacturing interests, because they violently seized upon social power in different periods of their history. At these times their accession to rulership seems to have been necessary to further the higher evolution of society which we call progress.

If, today the institution of private property and the further rulership of monopolized capitalistic interests is not in accord with the best development of the social whole; and if this institution and class are retained through the power of ideological impressions inherited from a time when they were socially essential then progress will cease and stagnation, or worse, result.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE.
CLASS STRUGGLES IN AMERICA . . . . .	11
IN THE COLONIES . . . . .	14
CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION . . . . .	16
CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASS UNDER "IN- DEPENDENCE" . . . . .	21
THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION . . . . .	24
RULE OF MERCHANT AND TRADER . . . . .	29
CONQUEST OF POWER BY PLANTER AND PIONEER . . . . .	32
THE MARCH OF THE PIONEER . . . . .	35
THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION . . . . .	38
THE FIRST LABOR MOVEMENT IN AMERICA . . . . .	41
THE MOMENTARY TRIUMPH OF THE FRONTIER . . . . .	48
WAGE VS. CHATTEL SLAVERY . . . . .	49
THE STRUGGLE FOR THE NORTHWEST . . . . .	57
RISE OF THE CAPITALIST CLASS . . . . .	62
SECESSION . . . . .	66
THE CIVIL WAR . . . . .	69
INDUSTRIAL EFFECTS OF THE WAR . . . . .	71
WORKING MEN DURING THE WAR . . . . .	77
RECONSTRUCTION . . . . .	79
THE RISE OF PLUTOCRACY TO POWER . . . . .	82
NEGRO ENFRANCHISEMENT . . . . .	86
THE GROWTH OF THE GREAT INDUSTRY . . . . .	90
THE RISE OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT . . . . .	94

	PAGE
THE AMERICAN RENAISSANCE . . . . .	98
PANIC OF 1873 . . . . .	100
THE STRIKE OF 1877 . . . . .	102
THE RISE OF THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR . . . .	106
THE LITTLE CAPITALISTS' FINAL FIGHT . . .	112
LATER STAGES IN CONCENTRATION . . . . .	114
THE LAST CLASS STRUGGLE . . . . .	118

# CLASS STRUGGLES IN AMERICA

American History begins in Europe. The thread of events connecting the American life of today to the distant past runs through Spain, England, France and Italy back to Greece and Asia and not through Sioux, Iroquois and Pequod back to mound builders, and pre-historic residents of the American continent. It is in Europe that the germs and sometimes the developed forms of the institutions which make up our present society have their roots.

At the time of the discovery of America a new social class was struggling into power in Europe. Clergy and nobility with priests, knights and kings had ruled for centuries. They were soon to be overthrown by the rising class of traders. New inventions, bringing about changes in the methods by which men satisfy their wants, were creating this new class and carrying it into power, as they have ever created new classes and borne them on to victory.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> K. Marx—"Capital," Vol. I, Chap. XV. Lodge—"The Close of the Middle Ages," pp. 518-19.

Gunpowder had destroyed the knight's monopoly of military skill; printing had abolished the monopoly of learning hitherto vested in the monks and a chosen few of the nobility, while the mariners' compass had broken the narrow circles of trade and released the voyagers from their confinement to land marks.

As the trading class gained power it changed its location. The kingdom of trade had long had its capital in the cities of the Mediterranean. The great trade routes of the time ran through the Red Sea or over land to the north to China, India and Japan. Over these routes came spices, silks, rugs, wines and precious jewels for the gratification and adornment of the social rulers of that day.<sup>2</sup> These came to Genoa and Venice to be distributed over the remainder of Europe. But the Moslem was cutting one after another of the trade connections along which these Oriental luxuries flowed to the Mediterranean cities.<sup>3</sup> Everywhere the traders were calling for a new route to India.

During the 14th and 15th centuries the seats of trade began to move north and west.<sup>4</sup> The

<sup>2</sup> Edw. P. Cheney — "European Background of American History," pp. 9-19. Aloys Schulte — "Geschichte des Mittelalterlichen Handel und Verkehr," I, pp. 674-5.

<sup>3</sup> Helmholt — "History of the World," VII:8.

<sup>4</sup> Brooks Adams — "The New Empire," Chap. III.



Hanseatic league of powerful cities arose on the shores of the Baltic. Manufacturing, especially, the weaving of woolen, moved across the English channel.<sup>5</sup> This moving of the commercial centers to the Atlantic had turned the face of Europe westward.

The voyage around Gibraltar between these Hanse cities and Italy required the building of larger and more powerful ships, which made ocean navigation possible. Some of these vessels under the command of Portuguese navigators were creeping around the coast of Africa seeking for a route to India.<sup>6</sup> The rotundity of the earth was generally accepted by navigators, at that time, although most of our school histories state the reverse. In the midst of this age of discovery Columbus' voyage was but an incident, but one of a host of adventurous voyages, some one of which was sure to sooner or later land on an American coast.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Cunningham — "Growth of English Industry and Commerce," I:373-9.

<sup>6</sup> Cheney, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-8.

<sup>7</sup> Cambridge Modern History, I:7-20.

## IN THE COLONIES

During the first few years of settlement man bulked small compared with the untrodden continent, and geographical conditions were of more importance than industrial in determining social institutions. The northern climate, land locked bays, abundant fishing grounds and swift flowing rivers decided that New England should be the seat first of a ship building and fishing, and later a manufacturing population. The central states with their deep harbors and abundant minerals pointed the way first to agriculture, then to manufacturing. The south with its torrid sun, rich soil, and few discovered minerals was especially fitted for cotton, rice, tobacco, plantations, and chattel slavery.<sup>8</sup>

Soon, however, there arose a division into social classes. Along the coast was the manufacturing, trading, plantation, creditor class; in the back country the toiling small farmer, hunter, pioneer, the conqueror of a continent, always

<sup>8</sup> Ellen C. Semple — "American History and Its Geographic Conditions," Chap. I.

hopelessly indebted to his economic masters on the ocean's brim.<sup>9</sup>

The pioneer debtor class desired free land, low taxes, and most of all paper money. The creditor coast class insisted on restriction of land sales, taxation and metal currency.

Sometimes this struggle between the back country, and the coast took on a violent form, as in "Bacon's Rebellion" in Virginia,<sup>10</sup> Leisler's in New York,<sup>11</sup> and the battle of Alamance in North Carolina.<sup>12</sup> But the powers of the government were in the hands of the coast and these early rebellions were soon crushed. The commercial and plantation classes of the sea-board reigned supreme.

<sup>9</sup> Shaper — "Sectionalism and Representation in S. C.," pp. 245-338. Thwaites — "The Colonies," Chap. I.

<sup>10</sup> John Fiske — "Old Virginia and Her Neighbors," II:95-105.

<sup>11</sup> Fiske — "Dutch and Quaker Colonies," II:184-207.

<sup>12</sup> Geo. E. Howard — "Preliminaries of the Revolution," pp. 222-5; T. Watson, "Life and Times of Thos. Jefferson," Chap. V; Wm. Edward Fitch, "Some Neglected History of N. Carolina."

## CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION

Commerce, fishing and even manufacturing grew rapidly during the 17th century. Then the English trading and manufacturing class under Cromwell secured control of the British government and began to interfere with the profit taking of their fellow traders in America.

The great majority of American colonial merchants were smugglers or slave traders or both. Says Sydney G. Fisher in his *True History of the American Revolution*: "If we could raise from the mud \* \* \* \* any one of our ancestors' curiously rigged ships \* \* \* \* we would be tolerably safe in naming her 'Smuggler.'"

The following extract from the article on *American Merchant Marine* in Lalor's *Encyclopedia* tells us some more interesting facts: "The colonists became a nation of lawbreakers. Nine-tenths of their merchants were smugglers. One quarter of all the signers of the Declaration of Independence were bred to commerce, the com-

mand of ships and to contraband trade. Hancock, Trumbull (Brother Jonathan), and Hamilton were all known to be cognizant of contraband transactions, and approved of them. Hancock was the prince of contraband traders, and with John Adams as his counsel was appointed for trial before the admiralty court of Boston, at the exact hour of the shedding of blood at Lexington, in a suit for \$500,000 penalties alleged to have been incurred by him as a smuggler."

By the beginning of the 18th century the English were attempting to enforce the laws against smuggling. At the same time they passed laws forbidding the growth of manufacturing in the colonies. Yet on the whole this attempt at enforcement was not successful enough to prove anything more than an annoyance to the shrewd smugglers of New England. The tariff on tea never bothered the colonists until the English export tax was remitted. This made it possible for the East India Company, a semi-governmental institution in which the king and most of the court favorites were closely interested, to deliver tea in Boston harbor, tariff and all, cheaper than the American smugglers could sell it. This abolished the profit and when the profit disappeared, smuggling was most effectually prohibi-

ted. Then it was that the oppressed smugglers arose and held the Boston Tea Party.<sup>13</sup>

Here and there were to be found the germs of manufacturing. Settlement was pushing back from the coast. Society was differentiating and production had progressed to the point where the colonies were to a large degree industrially independent of England.

At still another point the interests of the ruling class in America were interfered with by the British government. Parliament and the crown sought to limit settlement to the sea coast, since so long as the colonies were confined to a narrow strip along the Atlantic sea-board they must be dependent on the mother country. Moreover, settlement interfered with the fur trade in which English capitalists were heavily interested. But a large portion of the "Fathers of Our Country" were interested in western land speculation. Washington had used his position as Royal surveyor to illegally survey lands outside the royal grant; while Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton and Robert Morris were land speculators on a large scale.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> S. G. Fisher — "The True History of the American Revolution," p. 105; Thos. Hutchinson, "History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay," III:422-3.

<sup>14</sup> Herbert B. Adams, "Maryland's Influence upon Land Cessions," in Johns Hopkins' University Studies in History and

In spite of these causes for dissatisfaction among the ruling class it was difficult to arouse the great masses of the people who, indeed, had no particular reason for rebellion since their condition was about the same whether King or President ruled over the country. Indeed it is agreed by the best authorities that at the outbreak of the Revolution only a minority were in favor of rebellion, and that at no time save at the very close of the war was there a majority which really cared about independence.

The fact is that the Revolution was to a large extent a civil and not a national war.<sup>15</sup> Over 25,000 Americans enlisted in the British army, a considerably larger number than ever served under Washington.<sup>16</sup>

Nor did England offer a united opposition.

Political Science, Vol. III; Windsor, "Westward Movement," pp. 43-61; Sumner, "The Financier and Finances of the American Revolution," Vol. II, Chap. XXXIII; "Old South Leaflets," No's. 16, 27, 163; Hunt, "Life of Madison," pp. 46-50; T. Watson, "Life and Times of Thomas Jefferson," p. 151; Schouler, "History of the U. S.," I:216-218. See also Robben's "American Commercial Policy," pp. 176-79, on general land policy of early years of U. S. government.

<sup>15</sup> Justin Winsor, "Narrative and Critical History of America," Vol. VII, Chap. —, by George E. Ellis, "The Loyalists and their Fortunes;" M. C. Tyler, "The Loyalists in the American Revolution," in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, Vol. I; A. C. Flick, "Loyalism in New York," *Columbia Univ. Studies*, Vol. XIV, No. I.

<sup>16</sup> S. G. Fisher, "The True History of the American Revolution," 229-237.

Lord Howe, who was given command of the British troops in the early part of the war, was a Whig, an ardent advocate of the American cause. Most impartial students of his campaign in New York in the early years of the war conclude that he was really fighting in the interests of the colonists, and that it is to his efforts fully as much as to Washington's that we owe our independence.<sup>17</sup>

One of the most striking facts about the whole affair, however, is that nearly all writers agree in describing the revolutionists as much more energetic, coherent, and consequently, effective in their efforts. These are all the marks of a class which incarnates social progress, and is at least partially aware of its mission, and this was the case with the revolutionists.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, 296-366, *passim*.



## CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASS UNDER “ INDEPENDENCE ”

When the war came on, however, it was the laborers who did the fighting, as they have in all the wars before or since the Revolution. When they had at last gained the victory, after having shed their blood and suffered untold miseries from Lexington and Valley Forge to Yorktown, they found, as the fighters of all other wars have found that the triumphs gained were not to be shared by their class.

“ One-half the community was totally bankrupt, the other half plunged in the depths of poverty. The year which had elapsed since the affair at Yorktown had not brought all the blessings that had been foretold  
\* \* \* \* \* It was then the fashion in New Hampshire, as indeed it was everywhere, to lock men up in jail as soon as they were so unfortunate as to owe a fellow a sixpence or shilling. Had this law been rigorously enforced in 1785 it is probable that two-thirds of the community would have been in prison.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> McMaster, “ History of the People of the U. S.,” I:343 — 348, *passim*.

Throughout the war the fighters and the workers had been compelled to borrow from the commercial and financial classes of the seaports. These debts had been contracted in prices fixed by continental currency. Now it was proposed to collect them in gold. State debts and national debts were added to private indebtedness until for once in the world "the lawyers were overwhelmed with cases. The courts could not try half that came before them." To collect these debts, to lay a tariff for the benefit of the manufacturers that had sprung up during the war,<sup>19</sup> to give bounties to the fisheries,<sup>20</sup> and to make commercial treaties with other countries,<sup>21</sup> the ruling class needed a strong national government.

Perhaps the principal cause of the formation of the national government was to prevent the capture of power by the debtor class. In many

<sup>19</sup> Memorial History of Boston (Justin Winsor, Editor), IV:74-5; Annals of the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen of N. Y., I:12; J. L. Bishop, "History of American Manufactures," II:14.

<sup>20</sup> American State Papers, "Commerce and Navigation," I:6-21.

<sup>21</sup> History of Suffolk Co., Mass., p. 84; W. G. Sumner, "The Financier and Finances of the Revolution," II:193-204; J. G. Bluntschli, "Die Gründung der Am. Union von 1787," p. 16; W. J. Abbot, "American Ships and Sailors," p. 16; Wm. C. Webster, "General History of Commerce," p. 341; Memorial History of N. Y., III:30-35.

of the states the farmers and wage-workers were showing great reluctance to pay the debts which had been forced upon them by the sea-coast merchants and planters during the war. In Massachusetts they had even risen in rebellion under Daniel Shays in support of the idea that "The property of the United States has been protected from confiscation by the joint exertions of *all*, and therefore ought to be the *common property of all*."<sup>22</sup> In Rhode Island<sup>23</sup> a similar spirit was prevailing. Under these conditions it was time for the budding capitalist class to assert itself, or its prey might escape.

<sup>22</sup> Irving, "Life of Washington," IV:451. See also Geo. Richards Minot, "The History of the Insurrection in Massachusetts in the year 1786," p. 34, and *passim*; "Shays' Rebellion," in *Harper's Magazine*, XXIV:656; McMaster, "History of the people of the U. S.," I:318-20, 391; George Rivers, "A Populist of 1786," a novel.

<sup>23</sup> Samuel Greene Arnold, "History of the State of Rhode Island," p. 524; McMaster, *op. cit.*, I:337.

## THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

Throughout the war there had been a tendency toward centralization, yet at the close there was nothing which approached a real national government. There was no way in which this could be legally procured. But ruling classes have always been above the law, so a convention which had been called at Annapolis to settle some questions concerning the navigation of the Potomac, and which had no more law-making power than any trades union convention which might be called to order tomorrow, proceeded to issue a call for a national constitutional convention. Later this call was endorsed by the now well nigh dead Continental Congress. There is no doubt however but what it would have gone on just the same had this latter formality been lacking.<sup>24</sup>

While only a very small minority were interested in forming a constitution, yet that minority,

<sup>24</sup> Von Holst, "Constitutional History of the U. S., I:50-51; Schouler, "History of U. S.," 1:32-33; T. Watson, "Life and Times of T. Jefferson," p. 292.

as in the time of the Revolution, formed the class which was essential to social progress if capitalism in America was to reach the developed form which would alone enable it to give birth to the better society that shall follow.<sup>25</sup> But this should not deceive us into believing that the constitution was in any way democratic in its origin, or that it was anything else than a straight business proposition. The convention was simply a committee representing the commercial and manufacturing classes of the northern and middle states and the southern plantation interests.

A quotation from a speech by Madison, afterwards president, and the official reporter of the convention shows the general attitude of the body:—

“The delegates to Annapolis and later to Philadelphia were brought together in response to the demands of the business men of the country, not to form an ideal plan of government, but such a practical plan as would meet the business needs of the people.”<sup>26</sup>

“The government we mean to erect is intended to last for ages. The landed interest, at present, is prevalent; but in process of time when we approximate to the states and kingdoms of

<sup>25</sup> John T. Morse, “Life of A. Hamilton,” pp. 177, 197.

<sup>26</sup> McMaster, “The Acquisition of the Political, Social and Industrial Rights of Man in America,” p. 27.

Europe; when the number of landholders shall be comparatively small, \* \* \* \* will not the landed interest be overbalanced in future elections, and unless wisely provided against, what will become of your government? \* \* \* \* If these observations be just, our government ought to secure the permanent interests of the country against innovation. Landholders ought to have a share in the government to support these invaluable interests, and to balance and check the other. They ought to be so constituted as to protect the minority of the opulent against the majority. The Senate, therefore ought to be this body; and answer these purposes."<sup>27</sup>

The northern and the southern capitalists did not entirely agree on details. The main differences in the constitutional convention gradually narrowed down to the question of tariff and the importation of slaves. The bargain as finally struck permitted the importation of slaves until 1808 in exchange for the right to impose a protective tariff. Just how much any humanitarian motives had to do with the northern opposition to slavery is seen from the following quotation from a speech which Mr. Ellsworth of Connecti-

<sup>27</sup> Robert Yates, "Secret Debates of the Convention," p. 183.

cut made in the constitutional convention: \* \*  
\* \* \* "Let us not intermeddle, as population increases poor laborers will be so plenty as to render slaves useless.<sup>28</sup> While John Adams declared his opinion in a speech in the Continental Congress that,

"It is of no consequence by what name you call your people, whether by that of freeman or slave. In some countries the laboring poor men are *called* freemen, in others they are called slaves, but the difference is imaginary only. What matters it whether a landlord employing ten laborers on his farm gives them annually as much as will buy the necessaries of life or gives them those necessaries at short hand?"

When the constitution was finally formulated by this little group of wage and chattel slave owners the question of its adoption by the states came up. Many people are under the impression that it was adopted by a majority vote of the population. The fact is that "There were probably not more than one hundred and twenty thousand men who had the right to vote out of all the four million inhabitants."<sup>29</sup>

Even these few citizens were not allowed to vote directly, but were only permitted to choose

<sup>28</sup> Hart, "American History Told by Contemporaries," III: 218; Elliot, "Debates," V:459-461.

<sup>29</sup> Woodrow Wilson's "History of the American People," III:120.

delegates to conventions from districts carefully gerrymandered against the back-country districts; so that in the end it was once more a very small minority which ruled. The effect on the country of the adoption of the constitution is described by McMaster as follows:

"All who possessed estates, who were engaged in traffic, or held any of the final settlements and depreciation certificates, felt safe.

"The multitude, however, were indifferent. That great mass of the community whose lot it was to eat bread in the sweat of their face thought it a matter of no importance whether there was one republic or three, whether they were ruled by a monarch or governed by a senate. So long as the crops were good, wages high and food cheap, the sum of their happiness was likely to be much the same under one form of government as under another."<sup>30</sup>

The vote on the constitution clearly brought out the lines of the first political class struggle in America. The small farmers, frontiersmen,—debtors, voted solidly against the constitution, while the commercial, financial and plantation classes of the cities and the sea-board settlements voted in favor of its adoption.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> McMaster, "History of the People of the U. S.," I:299-400.

<sup>31</sup> O. G. Libby, "The Geographical Distribution of the Vote of the Thirteen States on the Federal Constitution," Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin; McFarrand, "Compromises of the Constitution" in *Am. Hist., Rev.* April, 1904.



## RULE OF MERCHANT AND TRADER.

During the early years of American government Europe was convulsed by the Napoleonic wars. The merchants of the United States had unexcelled opportunities to monopolize the merchant marine, and by 1807 American ships were carrying the larger portion of the trade of the world.<sup>32</sup> The commercial and financial class of New York and New England were therefore able to dominate the government.

Under Alexander Hamilton they proceeded to destroy what few traces of democracy had been permitted to enter the constitution. Hamilton declared it to be his object to form an alliance between the government and the capitalist class

<sup>32</sup> "The growth of the American mercantile marine from the adoption of the Federal Constitution to 1807 was something amazing. During this period of eighteen years, the registered tonnage of the country was multiplied sevenfold . . . The figures of 1807 were 848,306. While the great powers of Europe had been intent on the destruction of each other's commerce, the merchants of the United States had seen their opportunity and had made the most of it."—"Professional and Industrial History of Suffolk County," p. 102; Bishop, "History of Manufactures," pp. 47-8.

and he succeeded in doing this thoroughly.<sup>33</sup> The doctrine of "implied powers" was used to extend the functions of the central government,—something very much in the interest of the then ruling classes. The national debt was funded, the state debts assumed by the national government, and preparations made to pay both in full. This payment was to be made in currency at par value, although the securities were largely in the hands of speculators, who bought them for some times one-tenth their real value.<sup>34</sup>

A protective tariff was the first bill passed by the new congress after organization,<sup>35</sup> and a national bank charter,<sup>36</sup> and a measure providing for the survey of the lands held by the speculators previously described followed soon after.<sup>37</sup>

An internal revenue tax upon whiskey, the only form in which the western settler could export his corn, served to bring the power of the national government to bear directly upon the citizen without the interposition of the state gov-

<sup>33</sup> Van Buren, "Political Parties in the U. S.," p. 165; J. T. Morse, "Life of A. Hamilton," I:393-5.

<sup>34</sup> J. S. Bassett, "The Federalist System," pp. 31-34; McMaster, "History of the People of the U. S.," I:574; Von Holst, "Constitutional History of the U. S.," I:86.

<sup>35</sup> Annals of Congress, I:114-115; Jos. M. Swank, "Notes and Comments," p. 71; Bishop, "History of Manufactures," II:14-16.

<sup>36</sup> Dewey, "Financial History of the U. S.," pp. 99-100.

<sup>37</sup> Schouler, "History of the U. S.," I:215-218.

ernments. When this tax was resisted it also offered an excuse for setting in motion 15,000 troops under the national government to suppress an "insurrection" of less than as many hundred settlers. This established the precedent of the right of the national government to use troops directly against citizens.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Von Holst, "Constitutional History of U. S.," I:97; Dewey, "Financial History of the U. S.," p. 196, (also gives bibliography); H. M. Brackenridge, "History of the Western Insurrection"; Schouler, "History of the U. S.," I:290-295.

## CONQUEST OF POWER BY PLANTER AND PIONEER

While the shipping, fishing, and banking interests of New England and the central states grew with ever increasing rapidity during the first decade of the 19th century, yet their rivals for power grew even more rapidly. The plantation interests of the South, also aiming at control of the national government were aided by one of the most revolutionary of all the mechanical inventions that have transformed society during the last century and a half. This was the cotton gin, invented in 1793.<sup>39</sup> This invention multiplied the productive power of the workers in the southern cotton fields from ten to an hundred fold, and enabled the cotton planters to increase their product from 18 million to 93 million pounds, without any decrease in price, during the years 1801 to 1810.<sup>40</sup>

In spite, however, of the great accession of

<sup>39</sup> Katherine Cowan, "Industrial History of the U. S.," p. 148-9; "Eighty Years' Progress," pp. 113-114.

<sup>40</sup> Niles, "Weekly Register," II:146-7.

power which accompanied this industrial transformation the South could not have defeated the party of Hamilton had it not been for the frontier. The pioneers of Kentucky and Tennessee felt a sharp antagonism to the New England manufacturers and merchants, who had sought to restrict settlement lest wages might rise too high and the fur trade be disturbed.<sup>41</sup> They had also opposed the sale of land in small parcels that the interests of land speculators might be conserved rather than those of actual settlers; they had laid the tax on moonshine whiskey, and had shown a reluctance to opening up the navigation of the Mississippi.<sup>42</sup>

The southern planter on the other hand was an extensive buyer of the cattle and corn raised on the frontier. A large portion of the settlers had come from Virginia and Carolina and were southern in their sympathies. As a result of this alliance Jefferson, representing the plantation interests, went into power. The frontier was democratic and the southern slave owner, having no fear of political opposition from his enslaved workers, was also willing to talk democracy.

<sup>41</sup> Woodrow Wilson, "A History of the American People," 111:184; Von Holst, "Constitutional History of the U. S.," I:185-7; Hildreth, "History of the U. S.," V:584; Benton, "Thirty Years' View," I:131-132.

<sup>42</sup> Schouler, "History of the U. S.," I:216-18.

This was a period of expansion, and of internal improvements, when the Cumberland road was laid out, Louisiana purchased, the Lewis and Clark expedition sent to the Pacific, steamboat navigation begun, and when a vast army of settlers invaded the forests of the Mississippi valley.

THE MARCH OF THE PIONEER <sup>43</sup>

A continually moving frontier has been the most distinctive characteristic of American history and it is just at this period that it began to stamp its impression upon American social institutions. He, who would tell the story of Greece, Italy or England has but to describe the birth, growth, and sometimes decay, of a definite body of people, living on a Mediterranean peninsula or Atlantic island, but the history of the United States is the description of the march of a gigantic army ever moving westward in conquest of forest and prairie.

This army moved in successive battalions. The significant thing about these is that each line of the advancing army reproduced in succession the various stages through which society has passed. To borrow terms from biology, American society has been an ontogenetic reproduction of social philogeny. The advance guard of the army, composed of hunters, trappers, fishermen

<sup>43</sup> Frederick J. Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," *International Socialist Review*, VI:321.

and Indian scouts reproduced with remarkable fidelity the stage of savagery. They used the same crude tools, lived in the same rude shelters, followed the same methods of obtaining a livelihood, gathered around personal leaders, were often lawless, brutal and quarrelsome.

The next battalion on the frontier, and in race evolution, was formed of little groups of settlers along water courses, building semi-communistic neighborhoods, so closely resembling the Germanic "tun" and the Anglo Saxon village of the age prior to the Norman conquest as to cause some of the foremost of American historians to attempt to trace direct connection.

Next in order came the nomadic stage in history and the cowboy, herder and ranchman on the frontier. Each of these bodies formed a rather large industrial unit nomadic in its character and dependent upon the care of animals for its existence.

Crowding close upon the heels of this stage came that of small individualistic farming with the little merchant, householder, manufacturer and all the characteristics of the early stages of capitalism. The progress from this to the present monopolistic stage belongs in another part of this little work.

Such a frontier has always offered an oppor-



tunity to Americans to choose in which of the various historical stages they would live. The unemployed, blacklisted workers of capitalism could move into the individualistic stage or into the little semi-communistic group of settlers on the edge of the forest who would assist him in "raising" his log cabin, and clearing his land preparatory to planting his first crop. Finally, not so many years ago, if all else failed he could shoulder his rifle and revert to the savagery of the forest and plain as a trapper and hunter.

The frontier took the various people who had fled from European oppression and moulded them into the common type of American. Indeed it is only on the frontier that a distinctly American type has been produced and those whom we are proudest to call Americans and of which Lincoln is the foremost type are pre-eminently the expression of this social stage.

The frontier, although it assisted in the election of Jefferson was really of little importance in national affairs until nearly twenty years later, when, under Jackson, it seized the reins of national power.

## THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Steadily the germs of the factory system came in during the first years of the American government. Still there was little of it until the war of 1812.<sup>44</sup> During the embargo and the other commercial restrictions that accompanied that war the capital that had hitherto been invested in commerce was transferred to manufacturing. The large demands of the war hastened this tendency.<sup>45</sup> Then came the age of machinery, first in weaving and spinning, then for transportation by water, and finally on land. Although in 1816 it was still estimated that "not

<sup>44</sup> U. S. Census, 1900, Vol. VII, Pt. 1, p. 53.

<sup>45</sup> Woodrow Wilson, "History of the American People," III:240-241; Report of the House Committee on Commerce and Manufactures, Feb. 13, 1815; Niles "Register," IX:190, 365; Cowan, "Industrial History of the U. S.," 180-193; Bolles' "Financial History of the U. S. from 1789 to 1860," p. 283; "American History told by Contemporaries," III:430-33; Benton, "Thirty Years' View," I:96; Bishop, "History of American Manufactures," II:178-190; McMaster, "A Century of Social Betterment," Atlantic Monthly, LXXIX:23, "History of the People of the U. S.," IV:324-345, and Chap XLIV of Vol. V; Rabbeno, "American Commercial Policy," pp. 149-153.

a fiftieth, perhaps not a hundredth " of the cloth was manufactured in factories, still the new method was proving its right to survive, and was steadily relegating the hand-loom to the lumber room.

Iron and steel manufacturing, as well as the leather industries, grew rapidly during the same period, so that when the panic of 1837 burst upon the country there were all the beginnings of a developed factory system.

The rise of manufactures had its immediate political expression. By 1816 this interest had secured sufficient power to carry through a protective tariff.<sup>46</sup> The South, under the leadership of John C. Calhoun, favored this tariff, because they thought that it would create a "home market" for their cotton, and might build up manufactures in the South.<sup>47</sup> New England, led by Daniel Webster, opposed this tariff, and the higher one of 1824, because her interests were mainly commercial, and the tariff acted as a

<sup>46</sup> Edward Stanwood, "American Tariff Controversies of the 19th Century," pp. 123-129; Taussig, "Tariff History of the U. S.," pp. 32-36; Lewis, "History of the American Tariff," p. 71; Niles, "Register," July 17, 1819, p. 351; Rabbeno, "American Commercial Policy," pp. 153-155.

<sup>47</sup> Stanwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 106, 160; Babcock, "Rise of American Nationality, p. 239; Benton's Abridgment of Debates of Congress, V:642; Calhoun, "Works," II:163-173.

restriction on the carrying trade.<sup>48</sup> By 1828 these positions had been reversed. New England merchants had become manufacturers and Webster was leading them in a demand for a protective tariff.<sup>49</sup> The South had discovered that she monopolized cotton growing, and Europe was her best customer, that she must buy much of her supplies abroad, and that manufacturing was not destined to flourish on her soil. Still led by Calhoun she threatened secession if the tariff policy was persisted in.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Von Holst, "Constitutional History of the U. S.," I:398-9; Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 71; Webster, "Works," pp. 94-149.

<sup>49</sup> F. J. Turner, "Rise of the New West," p. 321; Webster, "Works," 228-247.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 325; H. W. Elson, "Side Lights on American History," pp. 333-337; Von Holst, "Life of Calhoun," pp. 74-76.

## THE FIRST LABOR MOVEMENT IN AMERICA

With the coming of the factory came the wage worker, the modern proletariat and also, as inevitably as day follows night, came the beginning of what we now call the labor movement. In the early days of capitalism in America, as in England, no limit was set to the exploiting greed of the possessing class. The cradle and the home were robbed to secure cheap labor power, while even in those factories that were held up as models, the employes toiled from fourteen to sixteen hours a day.<sup>51</sup>

As an inevitable result of this condition a solidarity of the working class began to make itself apparent. Trade-unions sprang up in every industrial center. Strikes, lock-outs, boycotts, and even employers' associations arose.

<sup>51</sup> Michael Chevalier, "The U. S.," p. 137; John Melish, "The Necessity of Protecting and Encouraging the Manufacturers of the U. S." (1818), p. 28; Seth Luther, "Address to the Working People of N. England" (1836); M. Carey, "Essay on the Public Charities of Philadelphia" (1829), p. 11; McMaster, "History of the People of the U. S.," V:85-86.

An extensive labor press, comprising altogether nearly fifty periodicals, flourished. This is a showing by the way that is not so greatly exceeded even at the present time.<sup>52</sup> For a little while a daily labor paper "The Man" was published in New York city. It is noteworthy that in many points the trade union movement at this time was in advance of the English movement, from which all of our historians agree that it was copied. Historians sometimes agree on remarkable things.

Such an extensive movement as this was certain to enter the political field. We are not therefore surprised to find labor tickets in nomination in several cities, some of which were partially successful.

It is when we come to study the principles and platforms of these early working-class movements that we meet with their most important and also most surprising phrase. The germs of the theory of surplus value, very clear statements

<sup>52</sup> Most of my information on this subject is gained from examination of the original copies of these labor papers which have been preserved in the National Library at Washington, and in other libraries. I have also been permitted to consult the large amount of material gathered by the University of Wisconsin, under the direction of Professors John R. Commons and R. T. Ely. As these references are not accessible to the ordinary reader it would be useless to cite them. Secondary accounts as a general thing are worse than useless.

of the class struggle and its necessary political expression, and especially of the representation of interests by political parties will be found in these writings, a generation before the appearance of the Communist Manifesto.

Five industrial classes were at this time struggling for the mastery in America. The *plantation South* in alliance with the *pioneer West* held the reins of power. However, their interests were by no means identical and there were many points of disagreement concerning a political program. In the North the *commercial* class was just giving way to the *manufacturing* class and arrayed against this latter was arising the new social force of the *proletariat*.

Owing to this diversity of class interests the workmen were able to exert a considerable influence in the moulding of institutions. The pioneer and the South were not particularly averse to some democratic institutions, especially the wider extension of the suffrage. The commercial classes of New England, robbed of their function as a ruling class, while still retaining sufficient wealth to maintain them in leisure were dying out in a blaze of intellectual fireworks. The principal manifestation of this was the great transcendental movement, with Emerson, Thoreau, Hawthorne, Channing and Lowell as its

most prominent representatives. The social confusion produced by the swift changes of the industrial revolution in the midst of these contending classes led to a corresponding intellectual confusion. It was a time of the origin of "isms", including spiritualism, mesmerism, communism, phrenology and hydropathy, together with most of the freak philosophies that remain even till the present day.<sup>53</sup> These were but the efflorescence of the intellectual growth that gave rise to the greatest accession which American literature has yet received. A literature springing from such industrial conditions could not fail to be more or less rebellious and tinged with the humanitarian aspect, and it is just these characteristics that most accurately describe the work of the writers mentioned. One who reads Thoreau's "Walden," the editorials of Dana, the essays of Emerson, or the poems of Lowell will be surprised to see how great a contribution to the world's literature of revolt is to be found therein.

Into the midst of this storm and stress was born the new labor movement. It demanded universal suffrage, abolition of capital punishment, imprisonment for debt, reform of the existing militia system, election of members of the legis-

<sup>53</sup> Schouler, "History of the U. S.," IV:310-311.



lature by districts, exemption of a minimum of property from execution for debt, simplification of legal procedure, establishment of a mechanics' lien law, and perhaps most important of all, the extension of public education. Mass meetings of the workers in New York, Boston and Philadelphia placed general education as foremost among the demands of the working class. Every platform of the workingmen's political parties of that time contained a demand for the formation of a public school system and it is as certain as a causal relation ever can be, that to this early labor movement more than to any one cause we owe the great "educational revival" of the thirties and our common school system of today.

It is to these early working class rebels that we owe to a larger degree than to any other cause not only our public school system, but abolition of imprisonment for debt, the mechanics' lien law, freedom of association, universal suffrage, improvement in prison administration, direct election of presidential electors and in fact nearly everything of a democratic character in our present social and political institutions. Yet so far as I know no historian has ever given them the least credit for securing these measures. On the contrary every effort is made to make it ap-

pear that these privileges were handed down as gracious gifts by a benevolent bourgeoisie.

For the working class directly they succeeded in shortening hours and improving conditions in many directions. They even brought sufficient pressure to bear upon the national government to compel the enactment of a ten hour law and the abolition of the old legislation against trades unions, which had made labor organizations conspiracies.

The question naturally arises as to why this labor movement disappeared. A variety of causes contributed to this end. On the political side the Loco-Focos, Know Nothings, Free Soilers and finally Tammany and the democratic party under Van Buren, took up enough of the working class demands to enable the politicians to swallow the young political movement of labor. At the same time the humanitarian tendencies of the Transcendentalists coupled with the existence of free land led them into a communistic colonist movement which absorbed the energy of some of the workers. This existence of free land to the West offered an outlet during the early days of the Republic for discontented elements and prevented any effective social revolution. This labor movement developed while the only connection between the Atlantic coast

and the Mississippi Valley was by almost impassable wagon roads. But by 1835 railroads had begun to creep across and around the barrier of the Alleghenies. This was like opening a mighty safety valve on the social boiler and undoubtedly drew off much of the discontent responsible for this labor movement.

Most important of all, the titanic battle between wage and chattel slave owners was just beginning. This contest so absorbed the energies of all classes as to bring about a new social alignment. Finally industrial conditions had not yet reached the stage where it was possible for the wage earning proletariat to become the social ruler. Several more generations of the factory system must come and go before competition should run its course and grow into monopoly and thereby lay the foundations of a social stage where wage workers should confront capitalists in a struggle for supremacy.

## THE MOMENTARY TRIUMPH OF THE FRONTIER

During most of the period that we have just been considering the pioneers who had reached the small farmer stage and were located in Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio and the back country district of New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia were largely in control of the government. Andrew Jackson was the representative of this class and to a large degree carried out their ideas. They attained power only through the assistance of the southern chattel slave owners, by whom they were greatly influenced. In many ways, however, they refused to carry out the measures demanded by their southern allies. This was especially shown in the nullification struggle.

## WAGE VS. CHATTEL SLAVERY

During colonial times the English capitalists found one of their main sources of income in supplying English colonists with slaves. By the treaty of Utrecht in 1713 Great Britain secured the monopoly of the slave trade.<sup>54</sup> This monopoly was controlled by royal favorites and was an important source of income to the crown. Indeed it is not too much to say that the industrial foundations of England and her rapid rise during the 18th century was largely due to this monopoly.<sup>55</sup>

As soon as the raising of slaves became profitable the slave-breeding states began to object to further importation. But the slave trade received support from another quarter. One of the principal industries of Massachusetts and Connecticut was the manufacturing of New England rum from East Indian molasses. This rum

<sup>54</sup> Du Bois, "Suppression of the African Slave Trade," p. 3, and *appendix*, pp. 207-8.

<sup>55</sup> Christy, "Ethiopia, Her Gloom and Glory," pp. 111-13; Wilson, "Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America," I:4; Du Bois, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

was then taken to Africa and after ample admixture with water was exchanged for negroes, who were then sold to the southern planters.<sup>56</sup> The ship proceeding from the southern ports to the West Indies to receive its load of molasses would go on to the New England distilleries and so on. It was from the profits of this trade that the Puritan fathers of our country received a large portion of their income. Peter Faneuil was one of these traders, and Faneuil Hall, the "cradle of liberty," was built from the profits obtained from smuggling rum and capturing slaves.<sup>57</sup> The first draft of the Declaration of Independence contained the following section:

"He has waged war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred Rights of Life and Liberty in the persons of distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in the transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain.

"He has prostituted his negative for suppressing

<sup>56</sup> Du Bois, *op. cit.*, p. 28; Von Holst, "Constitutional History of the U. S.," I:315.

<sup>57</sup> Weeden, "Economic and Social History of N. England." II:466 *et seq.*; Du Bois *op. cit.* Chaps. II, III and IV; Spear "The American Slave Trade, pp. 91-95; Phillips, "The Constitution a Pro-Slavery Compact," p. 61; Wilson, "Rise and Fall of the Slave Power," I:52.

every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain an execrable commerce, determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold."

But it was felt that this was treading on some very tender toes and therefore it was dropped out before the Declaration was adopted. So it was that the writers of a document whose opening sentence declared all men to be created free and equal feared to include a condemnation of the trade in human beings. In a short time, however, powerful forces began to make for abolition in the North. Slavery was found to be unprofitable. The long winters, irregular employment and high skill required in manufactures, and the careful personal attention necessary in northern agriculture all contributed to make wage slavery more economical than chattel. In Massachusetts "Negro children were reckoned an incumbrance in a family; and, when weaned, were given away like puppies. They have been publicly advertised in the newspapers to be given away."<sup>58</sup>

The invention of the cotton gin, on the other hand, had at once made chattel slavery immensely profitable in the South. This was especially true since it came just at a period when the industrial revolution was marvelously increasing

<sup>58</sup> Mass. Hist. Coll. IV:20. See also Williams, "History of Negro Race in America," p. 209.

the powers of production in the spinning and weaving of cotton, thus creating a demand far in excess of the possibility of the old method of production to supply. For these reasons southern society was soon organized on a basis of chattel slavery.<sup>59</sup>

The following table published a few years before the war gives a comprehensive statistical view of slavery and the forces that perpetuated it. The second column includes practically all the products of slave labor, embracing "naval stores, tobacco, rice, sugar and cotton."<sup>60</sup>

With such a steadily increasing mass of surplus value as is shown in that last column, one need know but little of the nature of an exploiting class to be able to predict that a bitter war

<sup>59</sup> M. B. Hammond, "The Cotton Industry," pp. 34-66; An American, "Cotton is King," pp. 43-100; Coman, "Industrial History of the U. S.," pp. 258-260.

<sup>60</sup> Thos. P. Kettel, "Industry of the South," in De Bow's Review, Vol. XII, pp. 169-185. See also Turner, "Rise of the New West," pp. 47-50.

Year.	All Products.	Cotton.	No. Slaves.	Production	
				Per Slave,	All Prod-ucts.
1809	\$14,385,000	\$5,250,000	893,041	\$16.10	
1810	23,255,000	15,108,000	1,191,364	19.50	
1820	37,934,111	26,309,000	1,543,688	24.63	
1830	45,225,838	34,084,883	2,009,053	22.00	
1840	92,292,260	74,640,307	2,487,255	37.11	
1850	130,556,056	101,834,616	3,179,509	41.60	
1851	165,304,517	137,315,317	3,200,000	51.90	



would be fought before that value would be surrendered.

For the first fifty years of the government it was a generally accepted principle that chattel slavery within state boundaries could not be interfered with by the national government. But new states were constantly being formed, and in the territorial stage these were directly subject to the national government. This caused continuous friction. As each new state was admitted the whole subject of slavery had to be thrashed over again.<sup>61</sup>

This western movement also had an important effect on the industrial organization of the South. With the opening up of the southwest the raising of cotton became even more profitable than it had been upon the sea-board. The Louisiana sugar industry also became a great user of slave labor.<sup>62</sup> The profit from these two industries was so large as to cause the price of slaves to rise with great rapidity, until by 1860 as high

<sup>61</sup> Wilson's "History of the American People," IV:101.

<sup>62</sup> The growth of the sugar industry and its relation to slavery is shown by a table given by Johnson, "Notes on America," II:363:—

NUMBER OF ESTATES.

Year.	Horse Power.	Steam.	Total.	Slaves.
1844-5 .....	354	408	762	63,000
1849-50 .....	671	865	1536	126,000

as \$4,000.00 had been paid for ordinary field hands.<sup>63</sup> As a consequence of this the southwestern states began to demand the revival of the African slave trade, in which they were opposed by the slave-breeding states of Virginia and Maryland.<sup>64</sup> This constant rise in the price of slaves tended to absorb the profits of the owner until the point had been reached where the cost of production by chattel slaves was probably much more expensive than that by wage slavery.<sup>65</sup> One traveler noted that in Louisiana "The labor of ditching, trenching, clearing the waste lands, and hewing down the forests, is generally done by Irish laborers who travel about the country under contractors." The plantation owners "lamented the high prices for this work" but consoled themselves with the re-

<sup>63</sup> Kettel, "Southern Wealth and Northern Profits"; Hammond, "The Cotton Industry," p. 51; De Bow, "Industrial Resources of the South and West," II:175.

<sup>64</sup> Ingle, "Southern Side Lights," p. 250; Fitzhugh, "The Wealth of the North and South" in *De Bow's Review*, XXIII: 592, *et seq.* On slave breeding see, Wilson, "Rise and Fall of the Slave Power," I:100 *et seq.*; Johnson, "Notes on N. America," II:354-355.

<sup>65</sup> Phillips, "The Economic Cost of Slave-Holding," in *Political Science Quarterly*, XX:257-275. This article also contains many references to other authorities comparing wage and chattel slave labor. See also Helper, "The Impending Crisis," p. 363. Many quotations from the less accessible writers are found in the *International Socialist Review*, for August, 1903, in article on "Economic Aspects of Chattel Slavery."

flection that "It was much better to have the Irish do it, who cost the planter nothing if they died, than to use up good field hands in such severe employment."<sup>66</sup> An excellent statement of the capitalists' argument on this point is afforded by the following quotation taken from the *London Economist* which was at that time (1853) the leading organ of international capitalism:

"Slaves are costly instruments of production, and the commodities which they raise must be sold to procure their clothing and subsistence. A slave establishment that produces all the commodities it requires, and sends nothing to market, may be independent; but the instant it works for a market, it becomes dependent on that both for its sales and its purchases. As the planter must provide for his population, he must often sell his produce for that purpose. A slave population hampers its owners in more ways than one, and there is some reason to believe that the low price at which slave raised produce is sold, is the consequence of the necessity which the slave owner is under to sell in order to maintain his people. The responsibility of the employer of free labor is at an end when he has paid the covenanted wages; and his greater advantages in dealing with the general market are exemplified in that *there are more fortunes made by the employers of free labor than by slave owners*. The Astors, the Girards, and the Longworthys, are the millionaires of the States, as the Rothschilds, the Lloyds, and the Barings, are the

<sup>66</sup> Phillips, *op cit.*, note, p. 271.

millionaires of the world — not the slave-owners, however wealthy, of Carolina, Cuba or Brazil.”

There was an economy in the large plantation, similar to that in the great capitalist industry. This compelled every planter to grow or be crushed out. So it was commonly said that cotton was only raised to buy slaves, and slaves were bought to raise more cotton, with which to get more slaves, and so on *ad infinitum*. There was thus a lack of flexibility, and freedom of application of the surplus value such as the capitalist possesses.

## THE STRUGGLE FOR THE NORTHWEST

In the North also power and industry was moving west. The upper Mississippi valley was becoming of great industrial importance. While this section was still in the small farmer stage it found a profitable market for its productions in the South.<sup>67</sup> Indeed had it not been for the cheap corn and bacon that was raised in the Northwest, and with which the slaves of the South were fed, chattel slavery would have been much less profitable and might easily have been impossible. In obedience to the principle that political action follows economic interests the votes of this section went with the locality which afforded them their most profitable market. Consequently throughout the forties and the early fifties the vote of this section was largely democratic.<sup>68</sup>

Once more a series of inventions and economic

<sup>67</sup> Brown, "The Lower South in American History," p. 35; Turner, *Rise of the New West*," pp. 98-99.

<sup>68</sup> Brown, "The Lower South," pp. 59-60.

changes brought about political transformations. The Erie Canal, finished in 1825, turned the flood of production largely towards New York rather than New Orleans. At the same time it brought in a mass of immigrants from the same locality and from Europe; especially, at a somewhat later date, from Germany. Hitherto immigration to this territory had been largely over the Cumberland road from Virginia or down the Ohio from Maryland and Pennsylvania. The majority of these earlier settlers being either from slaveholding states or near the border had at least no immediate hostility to chattel slavery. But the new army of immigrants that came over the Erie Canal and the railroads from the North Atlantic States and from Europe were, from the beginning, opposed to chattel slavery.

About the same time that the Erie Canal was completed steamboats began to appear upon the western waters enabling produce to go up as well as down the Mississippi and by 1856 the steam tonnage of the Mississippi valley was equal to that of the whole empire of Great Britain. The first steamer on the Great Lakes was in 1819 and by 1851 the lake trade was estimated at over \$311,000,000.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>69</sup> *De Bow's Review*, XV:359-384; Bolles' "Industrial History of the U. S.," p. 590.

With the coming of railroads the advantages of the Northeast over the South was further increased. The surplus value of wage slavery was so much greater and in so much more convenient form for use as capital as to give the North an overwhelming advantage in the construction of railroads. The South with a class-consciousness such as has been shown by almost no other industrial section in the history of the world set about endeavoring to overcome this movement. Great conventions were held to devise means to improve communication with this territory and most strenuous efforts were made to retain the commercial connections upon which they realized their political strength depended.<sup>70</sup> But in spite of all that could be done the South fell behind, not only in this competition for new territory, but still more strikingly in its own internal development. Chattel slavery, with its insatiable demand for great investments of capital in the labor itself, and for more land for exploitation, prevented the growth of manufacturing, even if chattel slavery had been otherwise adaptable to the factory system.

<sup>70</sup> Payne, "Contests for the Trade of the Mississippi Valley," in *De Bow's Review*, III:98-111; Grant, "Observations on the Western Trade," in *Hudson River R. R. Reports*; De-Bow, "Struggle Between North and South for Western Trade," *De Bow's Review*, XIV:423-431; *Ibid* XV:313.

Out of this situation also grew the fight concerning the tariff.<sup>71</sup> In a quotation from one of the books published in the South at this time in support of southern interests under the title of *Cotton is King* we find this position stated as follows:

"The close proximity of the provision and cotton growing districts of the United States gave its planters advantages over all other portions of the world. But they could not monopolize the market unless they could obtain a cheap supply of food and clothing for their negroes and raise their cotton at such reduced prices as to undersell their rivals. A manufacturing population, with its mechanical coadjutors, in the midst of the provision growers, on a scale such as the protective policy contemplated, it was conceived, would create a permanent market for their products and enhance the price, whereas, if their manufacturing could be prevented, and a system of free trade adopted, the South would constitute the principal provision market of the country, and the fertile lands of the North supply the cheap food demanded for its slaves. As the tariff policy in the outset, contemplated the encouragement of rice, hemp, whisky, and the establishment of woolen manufactures principally, the South found its interests but slightly identified with the system.

"If they (the Southern planters) could establish free trade, it would insure the American market to

<sup>71</sup> Burgess, "The Middle Period," pp. 110-111; London Economist, April 13, 1861; Kettel, "Southern Wealth and Northern Profits," *passim*; *De Bow's Review* for the period; Von Holst, "Life of Calhoun," 75-76.



foreign manufacturers, secure the foreign markets for their leading staple, repress home manufactures, force a larger number of the Northern men into agriculture, multiply the growth and diminish the price of provisions, feed and clothe their slaves at lower rates, produce their cotton for a third or fourth of former prices, and rival all other countries in its cultivation, monopolize the trade in that article throughout the whole of Europe, and build up a commerce and a navy that would make us the rulers of the seas."

After the election of Polk in 1844 the southern chattel slave owners had absolute control of the national government until the election of Lincoln.<sup>72</sup> During most of this time the capitalists were not so vitally interested in dominating the national government. With the rapid development of the West new markets were furnished, amounting to a "foreign market" within national boundaries. Many of the capitalist enterprises, especially the building of railroads, canals and steamboat lines did not require a tariff. Moreover the interests of the North were too diversified to permit any unity of action. The commercial classes of New England, still of considerable strength, the manufacturers, the small farmers and the frontiersmen had no set of definite interests uniting them stronger than the various ties possessed by some of them to the South.

<sup>72</sup> Helper, "The Impending Crisis," 306-318.

## RISE OF THE CAPITALIST CLASS

By 1850 a class began to appear, national in scope, compact in organization, definite in its desires and destined soon to seize the reins of political power. This was the capitalist class; not to be sure the monopolized solidified plutocracy of today, but rather the little competitive bourgeoisie that already had overthrown the feudalism of Europe.<sup>73</sup> This class had now reached into the Mississippi valley and turned the currents of trade so that the political and industrial affiliations of that locality began to be with New York and New England. This class found its political expression in the Republican party.

This party naturally arose in the upper Mississippi valley where the old political ties were weakest and the new industrial interests were keenest. The people of this locality felt no such close allegiance to the recently organized states in which they lived, as did the sea-board states.

<sup>73</sup> Coman, "Industrial History of the U. S.," Chap. VII; Wright, "Industrial Evolution of the U. S.," Chap. XI.

Whether employers, wage workers, or small farmers they all possessed the small capitalist mind, and all hoped, and with infinitely better reason than ever since, to become capitalists. They saw in the unsettled West the opportunity to carve out new cities, locate new industries, build longer lines of railroad — in short infinite opportunity to “rise” — the highest ideal of the bourgeois mind.

The Republican party exactly corresponded to these industrial interests. It exaggerated the importance of the national government, opposed further extension of slavery and supported all measures for more rapid settlement and exploitation of the West. The first national convention of the Republican party was held at Pittsburgh, February, 1856. In the address calling this convention we find the committee giving as its reasons for existence that:

“The representative of freedom on the floors of congress have been treated with contumely, if they resist or question the right to supremacy of the slave holding class. The labor and commerce of sections where slavery does not exist obtains tardy and inadequate recognition from the general government.....Thus is the decision of great questions of public policy touching vast interests and vital rights made to turn, not upon the requirements of justice and honor, but upon its relation to the subject of slavery — upon the effect

it will have upon the interests of the slave holding class."

Here, and throughout this document which is intended as a justification of the formation of the Republican party,<sup>74</sup> the indictment is never of slavery, but always of the South as a ruling section. There is no demand for the abolition of slavery but only for its restriction to existing limits. *The fundamental object is to obtain control of government, that capitalist interests may receive "adequate recognition."* The platform adopted by the convention added a demand for the Pacific railroad, and an appropriation for rivers and harbors.<sup>75</sup>

The vote at this election was small, but it is significant that its greatest strength was directly along the lines of communication running from the upper Mississippi valley to the northeast Atlantic coast.<sup>76</sup> Four years later, however, the Republican party placed in nomination the man, who, more than any other man, typified the best of the capitalist system,—Abraham Lincoln. The finest fruit of the Golden Age of American capitalism, he stands as the embodiment of all

<sup>74</sup> Hall, "The Republican Party," pp. 448-456.

<sup>75</sup> Curtis, "The Republican Party," Chap. VI, and pp. 257-259.

<sup>76</sup> Rhodes, "History of the U. S.," II:227.

that is good in that system. "Rising from the people" by virtue of a fierce "struggle for existence" under frontier conditions, where that struggle was freer and fairer than anywhere else in the entire history of capitalism, he incarnates the best of the best days of capitalism. As such he must stand as the greatest American until some higher social stage shall send forth its representative.

In some respects indeed Lincoln seems to have even transcended the class from which he sprang. There were many times in which he seemed to have a glimpse of the coming conflict between capitalists and laborers and to extend his sympathy to the worker. Yet we must not expect too much of him. It has not yet been given to any man to escape from the environment which produced him; had he done so he would have been not a man but a monstrosity — a superman.

## SECESSION

Once that the capitalist class had wrested the national government from the chattel slave holders there was nothing for them to do but to secede.<sup>77</sup> The margin of profits in chattel slavery was already too narrow to permit its continuance in competition with wage slavery unless the chattel slave owners controlled the national government. The Civil war therefore was simply a contest to secure possession of the "big stick" of the national government. The northern capitalists wanted it to collect tariffs, build railroads, shoot down workers, protect trusts, and, in short, to further the interests of plutocracy. The southern chattel slave owner wanted it to secure free trade, to run down fugitive slaves, to conquer new territory for cotton fields, and to maintain the supremacy of King Cotton.

To say that the Republican party was organ-

<sup>77</sup> Brown, "Lower South in American History," p. 83. "The struggle for ascendancy was, in fact, a struggle for existence. . . . The lower South was from the beginning under a necessity either to control the national government or radically to change its own industrial and social system."

ized, or the Civil war waged to abolish chattel slavery is but to repeat a tale invented almost a decade after the war was closed, as a means of glorifying the party of plutocracy and maintaining its supremacy. So far was the North from wishing the abolition of slavery at the opening of the Civil war that in December, 1860, after several states had already seceded, a joint resolution was passed by both houses of Congress providing for a constitutional amendment that should prohibit the adoption of any future amendment interfering with slavery within the bounds of any existing state.<sup>78</sup> Neither did the South secede in order to maintain slavery. This is proven by the fact that when the fortunes of war became desperate the confederate cabinet proposed to abolish slavery as a means of gaining European sympathy and retaining their independent position.<sup>79</sup> In the midst of the conflict the negro was changed from a chattel to a wage-slave as an act of war, just as the southern ports were blockaded and southern railroads destroyed.

One direct cause of secession whose importance was carefully suppressed, but which undoubtedly played its part, although not a dominant one, is

<sup>78</sup> Schouler, "History of the U. S.," V:507.

<sup>79</sup> Rhodes, "History of the U. S.," V:66-67; *Am. Hist. Rev.* I:97.

to be found in the debts owed by southern traders to the North.<sup>80</sup> These debts amounted to something between two hundred and four hundred million dollars. One of the first acts of the seceding states was to promptly repudiate all these debts. This at once brought to the support of the southern confederacy a large number of the little traders who had no direct interest otherwise in the supremacy of the slave holding class.

<sup>80</sup> Schwab, "The Confederate States of America," pp. 110-121; *Economist*, London, Jan. 12, 1861.



## THE CIVIL WAR

Once open hostilities had begun the actual fighting was carried on as it has been carried on in all wars, at least, since private property began, by those who did the work and had no interest in the outcome. Hinton Rowan Helper, in his work on *The Impending Crisis* which, by the way, had far more to do with bringing on the Civil War than *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, tells us that there were only about 186,000 actual slave holders out of a white population of over six million, and that of these only a few owned more than five slaves. When the war began, however, these millions of poor whites turned out to fight to help chattel slave owners gain control of the national government in opposition to other millions of wage slaves from the North who were fighting that that same government might be controlled by their capitalist masters.

To the student of industrial history the outcome of the Civil war is plain from the beginning. In military conflict, wage slavery is incomparably superior to chattel slavery. The

wage workers with modern machinery produce such enormous quantities of surplus value that the expenses of war are little more than a spur to industry. The development of the transportation system, and indeed the whole industrial and financial situation of the North was of a higher social type, more complex, more effective, in producing results of all kinds than that of the South.<sup>81</sup>

In modern wars, banks are of more importance than bullets, and bonds out-rank bayonets as weapons of offense and defense.

<sup>81</sup> On comparative strength of North and South see Rope, "The Story of the Civil War," I:98-102; Rhodes, "History of the U. S.," V:384; Schwab, "The Confederate States of America," pp. 272-274, and *passim*; U. S. Census 1860, Vol. on Manufactures, p. VI; for a boastful estimate of Southern strength, in 1862, see *De Bow's Review*, XXXI:5.

## INDUSTRIAL EFFECTS OF THE WAR

In very many senses the Civil war was the father of modern plutocracy. It was fought that the capitalist class might rule. Its progress laid the foundations and mightily extended the scope of the capitalist system. It is characteristic of war under capitalism that it produces a sort of hot house industrial growth. The tremendous demand for a great number of identical articles built up great industries at the expense of the smaller ones. All industries connected in any way with the manufacture of military supplies grew with leaps and bounds. Of the woolen industries we are told by A. S. Bolles that

“the mills soon found themselves overwhelmed with orders....a great many of the woolen factories which had been shut up during the previous hard times were reopened and set at work. Hundreds of new factories were built....Cotton mill owners resolved to turn a portion of their establishments to the manufacture of woolen....Every machine was run so as to produce the greatest amount of goods and in many cases the mills were run night and day. It was an era of great

prosperity. The woolen machinery of the country was more than doubled during the war."<sup>82</sup>

The Civil war made iron the King of the American industrial world. The war tariff, railroad building, and new inventions all contributed to this supremacy. The slight rise in wages brought about by the employment of vast numbers of men in destructive work caused the number of patents granted to rise to nearly double those of any equal number of years previously.<sup>83</sup>

This development was especially evident in agriculture. It has been said that the Civil war was won by the McCormick reaper, and there is more than a grain of truth in the statement. The improved agricultural machines, which could be operated by women and children, made it possible to raise larger crops during the Civil war, when almost a majority of the farmers were in the line of battle, than had ever been raised when all were employed. These great agricultural resources formed the backbone of the northern power.

<sup>82</sup> "Industrial History of the U. S.," pp. 379-383; First Report Mass. Bureau of Labor (1870), p. 111.

<sup>83</sup> Report of Commissioner of Patents (1863), p. 47; David A. Wells, "Our Burden and Our Strength," a pamphlet published in 1864, gives best general survey of the growth of industry during the war; Rhodes, "History of the U. S.," V:190-200.

But while women and children were toiling at home and men were facing the cannon at the front that capitalists might rule, those capitalists, so far from undergoing any privations, were reaping a golden harvest, such as had never fallen to the lot of their class before. Internal revenue taxes were manipulated and their imposition "tipped off" in advance so that on the single item of the whiskey tax over \$50,000,000 were cleared up by the ring who engineered through this deal. The gigantic contracts brought forth a revelry of financial debauchery that makes even modern "Frenzied Finance" look innocent in comparison. A single investigating committee discovered \$17,000,000 worth of graft in \$50,000,000 worth of contracts and from our knowledge of the work of investigating committees we may be pretty sure that there were many items overlooked.<sup>84</sup> Shoddy uniforms, defective carbines, rotten leather, and adulterated rations were sold to the government at prices far above the market rate for perfect goods. Like a horde of vultures northern capitalists fattened upon the life blood of their fighting slaves. When we remember that it was right here that the foundation was laid for perhaps a majority of the great fortunes of today we are once more

<sup>84</sup> House Rept., 37th Cong., 2nd Sess., No. 2.

reminded of that striking statement of Marx's that if usury comes into the world with a congenital blood stain on each cheek, then capital "comes dripping with blood and dirt at every pore."

Although it was of great importance from the strategic point of view that the blockade on southern cotton should be effective, yet when cotton in the South could be bought for less than 10 cents a pound and sold in New England for \$1.00, only a slight knowledge of capitalist economics and their relation to ethics is necessary to make it certain that the blockade would be broken by the very class who were supposed to be interested in its maintenance. It was stated upon the floor of congress that

"We have prolonged the rebellion and strengthened the arms of traders by allowing the very trade, in consequence of which not only union men and women, but rebels of the deepest dye, have been fed and have had their pockets lined with greenbacks, by means of which they could carry on the rebellion. Under the permission to trade, supplies not only have gone in, but bullets and powder, instruments of death, which our heroic soldiers have been compelled to meet upon almost every field of battle, upon which they have been engaged.... I am greatly afraid that in some quarters the movements of our armies have been conducted more with a

view to carry on trade than to strike down the rebels." <sup>85</sup>

Of equal importance with the mechanical development in building up a strong plutocratic class was the growth of a financial system, made necessary by the great transactions of the Civil war. It is estimated that the total expenditure of the war was over six billions of dollars. The floating of this debt had not only greatly enriched the little clique of bankers having charge of the national finances,<sup>86</sup> but more important still it had trained a large body of men in that "high finance" which was to play so great a part in later industrial developments. It is noteworthy that the present system of national banks was established at the end of February, 1863.

A glance at the South during the war but adds further proof to the superiority of wage labor as a means of exploitation. In a short time the rails of the street railroad of Richmond were taken up to make armor for a gunboat, while the worn-out plows, old spades, axes and broken stoves were being gathered up from the planta-

<sup>85</sup> Cong. Globe, June 9, 1864, p. 2823; House Rept., 38d Cong., 2nd Sess., No. 24; Rhodes, "History of the U. S., V:275-276, *et seq.*

<sup>86</sup> Bolles, "Financial History of the U. S.," III:20, describes the organization of bankers.

tions to be made into weapons of war.<sup>87</sup> The railroad system soon ceased to be worthy of the name, while the postal system was forced to charge rates which constituted a crushing burden upon communication.<sup>88</sup> The South being a one crop country depended upon foreign trade for its existence. The moment the blockade was made even partially effective its industrial life was paralyzed.

The military campaigns were arranged with reference to industrial features. When Grant had occupied the Mississippi valley and had gained control of this great artery of internal communication he had cut off the Confederacy from the great granary state of Texas and paralyzed one of the principal nerves of its system of communication.<sup>89</sup> Sherman's march to the sea, with its terrible devastation of agricultural resources and what few manufactures existed along his route, completed the process of destroying the already backward stage of industry which prevailed in the South.

<sup>87</sup> Rhodes, "History of the U. S.," V:390-391; Fleming, "Industrial Development in Alabama during the Civil War," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, July, 1904.

<sup>88</sup> Schwab, "Confederate States of America," p. 247; Rebellion Records, series I, Vol. IV., pp. 119-122.

<sup>89</sup> Brigham, "Geographic Influences in American History," p. 202.



## WORKING MEN DURING THE WAR

While on the whole the laboring class showed little signs of intelligent consciousness or recognition of their own interest, but rather acted blindly in obedience to their masters' behests, yet there were a few exceptions.

The only labor organization of any importance at this time was the National Labor Union of which William H. Sylvis was the head. In his biography, written by his brother, we learn that,

"Among the working men a few choice spirits north and south, knowing that all burdens and none of the honors of war, are entailed upon labor, were engaged in an effort to frustrate the plans of those who seemed to desire, and whose fanaticism was calculated to precipitate hostilities."

These men held numerous meetings both north and south and had arranged for a great convention to be held at Philadelphia, Feb. 22, 1861, but by that time the war was already on and the convention was insignificant.

The only ~~other~~ sign of working class opposi-

tion to the war was the uprising against the "exemption clause" of the draft, which enabled the wealthy to escape from military service. This antagonism reached such a stage that during the New York draft riots of 1863 the city was for several days in the hands of a mob.<sup>90</sup> It should be noted in this connection, however, that since American industrial society had not yet reached the stage where working class supremacy was possible this blind devotion to their masters' interests was really working in accord with social progress.

<sup>90</sup> A Volunteer, "The Volcano Under the City," p. 30.

## RECONSTRUCTION

A southern writer described the condition in the South at the close of the Civil war in the following words: <sup>91</sup>

"The people were generally impoverished; the farms had gone to waste, the fences having been destroyed by the armies, or having decayed from neglect; the fields were covered with weeds and bushes; farm implements and tools were gone; live-stock had disappeared, so that there was barely enough farm animals to meet the demands of agriculture; business was at a standstill; banks and commercial agencies had either suspended or closed on account of insolvency; the currency was in a wretched condition; the disbanded Confederate soldiers returned to their homes to find desolation and starvation staring them in the face; there was no railway or postal system worth speaking of; only here and there was a newspaper running; the labor-system in vogue since the establishment of the colonies was completely overturned,...worse than all

<sup>91</sup> Garner, "Reconstruction in Mississippi," p. 122 *et passim*. See also Herbert, "Why the Solid South," Pike, "A Prostrate State," articles by various writers on "Reconstruction," in the *At. Monthly*, Vols. 87 and 88; Wilson, "History of American People," V:47, and 113-114 for bibliography on Reconstruction.

this was the fact that about one-third of the white bread-winners of the state had either been sacrificed in the contest or were disabled for life, so that they could no longer be considered as factors in the work of economic organization...."

Such a situation means that nearly all the physical achievements of a century of progress had been wiped out and that society had returned to a primitive stage accompanied by a mass of handicaps such as never afflicted the early frontiersmen of the forest and prairie. Out of this chaos was to come, as the first coherent social stage, that of small farming and manufacturing,—of the small bourgeoisie. If this class was to arise it was necessary that the negro be transformed into a wage slave. This, however, could not be accomplished in a moment. Indeed it has scarcely been satisfactorily accomplished in half a century. But if the negro was to yield profits he must somehow be forced to work for a master. In order to secure this end the southern states enacted the famous "vagrancy laws." These laws provided that any person without regular employment, or "caught loitering" might be arrested, fined and bound out to someone to work out the fine.<sup>92</sup> One of the interest-

<sup>92</sup> Lalor, "Encyclopedia of Political and Social Science," article "Reconstruction."

ing features of these laws is that they were copied almost verbatim from the statute books of New England, where, to be sure, they were directed only against poor white wage slaves.

Of course, these laws had the obvious intention of reducing the negro to a state closely approximating that of chattel slavery, yet the spasm of "moral indignation" which passed through the North and which resulted in such momentous action, had far different reasons back of it than that highly tender Puritan conscience which has served as an excuse for so many things in American history. In order to understand this we must turn for a moment to the northern states.

## THE RISE OF PLUTOCRACY TO POWER

Within the capitalist class of the North an important division had taken place. As the war had gone on the small competitive capitalists of whom Lincoln was the representative had been gradually crowded to the background. A race of plutocratic giants had risen. The kings of iron and steel, of banks and bonds and railroads were now marching toward the national capital over the prostrate forms of their weaker fellow exploiters. During the closing years of the Civil War the beginning of this division of interests had appeared, yet in those stirring times no opportunity had developed for its clear expression. Now that the war was over a new alignment of political forces became imperative to correspond to the industrial alignment. The great corporations, which Lincoln had foreseen would arise as a result of the war, and whose power he feared, now began to make themselves felt. They were still too few in numbers to hope to control national elections if the fight between them and the smaller capitalists became an open one.

A little capitalist class was rapidly arising within the South. It would have interests in common with the members of the same class in the northern Mississippi valley. The formation of an alliance between these two forces meant that the control of government would fall once more into the hands of the small profit takers. Such an alliance must be prevented at all hazards. So it was that Thaddeus Stevens, a Pennsylvania iron master, who best incarnated the spirit of plutocracy, arose in his seat in the house and declared that the southern states "ought never to be recognized as valid states, until the constitution shall have been so amended . . . as to secure the *perpetual ascendancy of the party of the union*."<sup>93</sup> It is probably unnecessary to add that when Thaddeus Stevens said the "party of the union" he always meant the plutocratic wing of the Republican party.

The method by which this was done is interesting. Remember that a large percentage of the southern states had already been reorganized under the direction of Lincoln, had state governments in active operation, had accepted the Emancipation Proclamation, and the thirteenth amendment, had elected their representatives to Congress, and, in short, in every meaning of the

<sup>93</sup> Congressional Globe, Dec. 18, 1865, p. 74.

constitution, were fully equipped states with all the rights, privileges, and duties of any state.

This was the situation when Congress met in 1867. Then began a series of violent illegal subversions of fundamental institutions, such as the French designate as *coup d'états*, and which our historians always congratulate us on having avoided. In the first place the house was called to order and the clerk was instructed to disregard the laws providing for the regular method of calling the roll and to omit from his roll all those states whom Thaddeus Stevens and his followers did not desire to be represented, and this notwithstanding the fact that their representatives were on the floor of the house ready to be sworn in.

This having been done a joint committee of fifteen was appointed, with Thaddeus Stevens as chairman, to have charge of the work of reconstruction. On March 2, 1867, this committee reported a plan to the house, providing for a form of government utterly foreign to our constitution and having no foundation in any legal institution then existing. This act divided the South, without regard to state boundaries, into five military districts and placed them under the command of five general officers of the army. Three weeks later a supplemental act was passed



annulling all state governments then in operation, enfranchising the negroes, disfranchising all who had participated in the war against the union, whether pardoned or not, if they had previously held any offices (thus abolishing the President's constitutional power of pardon) and granting to these military officers absolute power over life, liberty and property, with the sole exception that death sentences required the approval of the President before going into effect.<sup>94</sup>

Thus we see that the capitalist class first came into power in this country through the bloodiest war of the century and that the present plutocratic wing of that class attained its ruling position through a series of violent revolutionary measures. Yet this is the class which is thrown into a spasm of moral horror at the suggestion of revolutionary action on the part of its wage slaves.

<sup>94</sup> Wilson, "The Reconstruction of the Southern States," *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXXVII:12-13. See also previous references on Reconstruction.

## NEGRO ENFRANCHISEMENT

One of the fundamental planks of this reconstruction act was the granting of the ballot to the negro. For more than two generations the Republican party has lived mainly on the glory of two acts,—negro emancipation and negro enfranchisement. According to the orthodox historian these two blessings were conferred upon the negro by the Republican party in obedience to the mandates of its tender conscience. It is rather rough on the conscience theory to note that the solid Republican states of Connecticut, Ohio, Kansas and Minnesota in the years between 1865 and 1867 defeated by referendum votes measures granting the suffrage to the negroes residing in those states.<sup>95</sup> It is also illustrative of this moral conscience theory to note that the vagrancy laws which were offered as the fundamental reason for enactment have recently been re-enacted in the South simultaneously with the disfranchisement of the negroes and no protest has arisen from those same tender

<sup>95</sup> Herbert, "Why the Solid South," p. 13.

consciences. Would it be impertinent to ask if these events are in any way explained by the fact that in 1867 northern plutocracy needed the southern negro vote and that by 1905 its ruling position was so firm that it could afford to forget his suffering?

During the years 1868 to '76 the northern plutocracy had very definite use for the negro vote in order to make certain that the small capitalist and farmer of the South should not join with the same classes in the North and recapture the government. The control of the negro vote was partly secured through the Freedman's Bureau which was established, ostensibly for the protection of the negro but which was so manipulated as to make him the political slave of a gang of officials who went down from the North (the notorious "carpet baggers") and by whom the negroes were trained to use their ballots for the benefit of a new set of masters as they had used their muscles to pile up profits for their former owners.<sup>96</sup>

While this was going on the South was plundered as though by a horde of Goths and Vandals. I take the following account from Woodrow Wilson's "A History of the American

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18. For favorable view see Du Bois, "Souls of Black Folk."

People." Since he is a northern historian, recognized as the best authority on this special period, he can not be accused of bias against those who carried out reconstruction:

"In Mississippi, before the work of the carpet baggers was done, six hundred and forty thousand acres of land had been forfeited for taxes, twenty per cent of the total acreage of the State. The state tax levy for 1871 was four times as great as the levy for 1869 had been, that for 1873 eight times as great; that for 1874 fourteen times. The impoverished planters could not carry the intolerable burden of taxes, and gave their lands up to be sold by the sheriff. There were few who could buy. The lands lay waste and neglected or were parcelled out at nominal rates among the negroes. In South Carolina the taxes of 1871 aggregated \$2,000,000 as against a total of \$400,000 in 1860, though the taxable value of the state was but \$184,000,000 in 1871 and had been \$490,000,000 in 1860. There were soon lands to be had for the asking wherever the tax gatherer of the new government had pressed his claims. The assessed valuation of property in the city of New Orleans sank, during the eight years of carpet bag rule, from \$146,718,790 to \$88,613,930. Four years and a half of 'reconstruction' cost Louisiana \$106,020,337."

But the story of the increase of taxation is but one small side of the case. State debts were increased to the highest possible amount. In the four years following 1868 the debt of South

Carolina rose from five to thirty million dollars, and that of Louisiana from six to fifty million. Along with this wholesale plunder went a practical paralysis of governmental institutions. Towards the close of this period the negroes began to show signs of disregarding their masters and of utilizing the power of plunder which their ballots gave them for their own benefit. This may account to some extent for the fact that no effective opposition was offered to the work of the Ku-Klux-Klans, which violently overthrew the reconstruction governments. Another reason why less opposition was offered by the plutocracy is found in the fact already noticed that by the middle of the seventies the great capitalists were so firmly intrenched that their dislodgment was practically impossible and they consequently began to be in favor of "law and order," even though this law and order was secured by a violent upsetting of governmental institutions in the South. So it was that as soon as the Ku-Klux-Klan actually became dominant and its controlling elements were recognized as believing faithfully in the sacred god of profits, then President Hayes withdrew the troops from the South and reconstruction was completed.

## THE GROWTH OF THE GREAT INDUSTRY<sup>70</sup>

By this time the general features of present society had begun to appear. For twenty years after the Civil War these features were still only in embryo. These years may be designated as the period of the growth of the "great industry" in distinction from the "little business" which preceded the war, and the monopolistic trusts which now dominate the industrial situation.

The Civil War had brought forth industrial units of tremendous size compared with those of a generation before. Yet these industries were still competitive; indeed they were even more fiercely competitive than the smaller ones from amid which they had sprung.

The field of battle over which they struggled had now become national. This extension of the market was indeed one of the most striking phenomena of this period. Over 30,000 miles of railroad were laid in the United States between

<sup>70</sup> Wright, "Industrial Evolution of the U. S.," Chap. XII.

1865 and 1873. These reached from the Atlantic to the Pacific and gridironed every portion of the country with means of quick effective communication. This meant the existence of a national market for all but the most bulky and perishable of products. There were many firms which had grown up during the Civil War which were capable of supplying such a national market. In every line of industry these firms now began a fierce struggle for survival.

Three great industries leaped into dominant positions during this period. These were iron and steel, coal and the packing industry. The invention of Bessemer steel and the refrigerator car were largely responsible for the rise of two of these.

During all this time moreover the government was absolutely in the hands of the Republican party and of the plutocratic wing of that party. The Democratic party was too weak to offer even effective criticism, to say nothing of opposition, consequently the government was used for the benefit of the ruling class in a most shameless manner. The "Whiskey Ring" and Credit Mobilier were but incidents, not by any means the worst among a host of notorious and barefaced steals on a national scale which took place at this time.

But such petty direct grafting is never the fundamental purpose of capitalistic control of government. It is rather to use the government for the direct furtherance of the interests of the capitalist class as such. The tariff was therefore raised for purposes of protection even above the point where the exigencies of war taxation had placed it. To extend the national market by the great system of railroads described above, an empire of land larger by five times than the entire state of Ohio was presented to the men who owned the stock in these proposed lines.<sup>98</sup> To make these railroads even more profitable and to still further extend the market, every effort was made to hasten the settlement of the western states.

All this expansion, however much of profit it brought to the large capitalists, could not avoid raising up a new army of small middle class property owners and these soon began to show signs of class-conscious solidarity, and to express this on the political field. During the years immediately following the Civil War the small capitalist interests attempted to crystallize around Andrew Johnson, who was in the highest degree representative of their class interest. Although it is now universally agreed that he was

<sup>98</sup> Donaldson, "The Public Domain," pp. 262, *et seq.*



carrying out President Lincoln's plan for reconstruction, though to be sure with none of Lincoln's tact and ability, yet the corporate control of the press and the other organs of public opinion succeeded in arousing indignation against him until he came to be generally considered as a traitor.

This movement reached its height in the attempt to remove him by impeachment. There is probably not a constitutional lawyer to-day who will claim that the process had the slightest justification on constitutional grounds. His opponents did, however, succeed in so completely disgracing him in the public mind that his following disintegrated. By 1872 the interests which he represented had begun once more to crystallize and in that year the Horace Greeley ticket was thoroughly representative of the little capitalistic interests, but the disfranchisement of the South enabled the plutocracy to re-elect Grant and maintain their domination.

## THE RISE OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The Civil War marked the close of struggles between anything like equal divisions of the exploiting class in the United States. While for the next generation or two there were spasmodic attempts on the part of different divisions of the exploiters to grasp the reins, yet the position of the capitalistic class as a whole was never threatened. Indeed we might go further and say that never since the days of Reconstruction was the plutocratic wing of that class in any serious danger of losing its dominant position.

But now a new force appears upon the scene. Chattel slavery had disappeared and wage slavery was here. A national market began to exist, not only for iron and steel and pork, but for *labor power*, that strange peculiarly capitalistic commodity, whose very existence is so pregnant with revolutionary power. It was no longer necessary to invest several thousand dollars of capital in the bodies of laborers in order to establish a great industry. The buyer of labor power did not need to visit a slave auction,

or employ skilled buyers to search the markets of the slave breeding states in order to secure the muscle and brain he needed in the production of profits. If a thousand or five thousand, or a hundred thousand men were wanted to build and operate a trans-continental railroad, found a packing industry, build a city, or dig a canal, it was only necessary to let the fact be known through the columns of the daily press and the possessors of this new labor power commodity hastened to the designated spot over the highways or clinging to the brake bars of freight trains, carrying with them the strength of their muscles and the skill of their brains. When they arrived at the spot where they were wanted they found no long line of masters to bid for their bodies, but on the other hand the workers themselves engaged in a sort of "Dutch auction" where the lowest bidder took the job.

Such a condition bringing thousands of men together to work for the same master was sure to arouse within the ranks of the workers a feeling of common interest, the germs of class consciousness. This feeling was to grow and develop until a new and more far reaching class struggle than any the world had ever known before was to take place on this continent.

In the beginning this class consciousness ex-

pressed itself only in the form of organizations to secure a little higher price for the labor power to be sold. So it was that the four years immediately following the Civil War were years of the beginning of the present labor unions.<sup>99</sup> Thousands of such organizations were formed in every part of the country and these finally joined together in 1866 in the National Labor Union. This organization grew in membership and influence until in 1869 it reported a membership of 168,000. Aside from a few rather small strikes its activity was largely devoted to agitation for a national eight hour day. In this it was assisted by many humanitarians and reformers. As a result Congress passed a law in 1867 providing for the eight hour day for employes of the national government. This was the first and almost the last important gain ever made by the labor movement through the lobbying method and was only possible because of the confusion of class interests which still prevailed.

In 1870 the National Labor Union became a political party with a platform demanding almost everything from "the maintenance of a protective tariff as long as it should be neces-

<sup>99</sup> McNeil, "The Labor Movement," p. 128; Ely, "Labor Movement in America," p. 61; Report of the Industrial Commission, XVII:1; Hillquit, "History of Socialism in the U. S.," pp. 183-184.

sary " to " the disenthralment of labor " and political application of the golden rule. Such a party could not have any long life and indeed it died almost as soon as born.

## THE AMERICAN RENAISSANCE

About the time that America was discovered, as we have already seen, the capitalist class gained control in Europe. During the next century or two, art, literature and music was "capitalized." This period, commonly known as the Renaissance, was, we will not say, duplicated, but rather burlesqued by the capitalist class of America. It was to its European counterpart, what the revolution of '48 was to the great French revolution, a comparison which Marx has so excellently developed in his *Eighteenth Brumaire*. In both cases it marked the reduction of all forms of art to the commodity basis. In America it was the time when the American millionaire first became the laughing stock of the world, the synonym for the parvenu and the upstart. It was the age in which sculpture found expression in bronze dogs on millionaires' lawns, when architecture expressed itself in the "Queen Anne fronts and Mary Ann backs" of the homes of the kings of pork and iron. It was the age when Mary Jane Holmes and the "Duchess"

ruled in literature, while the American millionaire's contribution to the pictorial art of the world was the invention and popularization of the chromo.

## PANIC OF 1873

In less than ten years after the Civil War the marvelous new tools that had been invented and the powers of nature that had been conquered showed themselves capable of producing far more than either their owners could waste or their users, with their wage slave remuneration, could buy, and industries broke down in the first really great capitalistic crisis of 1873. As yet the large capitalists had not reached a size sufficient to elevate them above the catastrophies of their industrial system, so all went down together in a common smash.

When the financial storm had passed the industrial face of society was transformed; a new method of organization had entered industry, as potent both as a saver of labor and a hastener of the process of production, as the machine in the mechanical world. This was the corporation, which had hitherto been almost entirely confined to the fields of transportation and banking, but which now began to be utilized in all fields of industry. The corporation brings with it, as



does every new invention in the industrial field, important social changes. It marks the disappearance of the capitalist as an active participant in the productive process. He no longer directs the process in the shop or in any way fulfills a function as a captain of industry. He has found, in the corporation, a new machine, a legal creation, having no body to scourge, no soul to damn, no life to lose. This machine, like its mechanical counterpart, he does not himself operate, but simply retains the ownership. Henceforth the manager and director of industry, like the man who handles shovel, hammer, loom or lever, is a wage slave, forced to sell himself to the owner of this new industrial and financial tool. The capitalist henceforth becomes purely a parasitic owner, who may be an idiot, an infant, an insane person, a ward of the court, but who, while the law protects his ownership of corporation shares, can still levy a tax upon every man working either with hand or with brain.

THE STRIKE OF 1877 <sup>100</sup>

The first effect of the panic, as always, was felt in the decline of wages. The few small labor unions that had existed were soon swept away. Their members joined the army of unemployed which for the first time appeared in great numbers in the streets of American cities. Those who remained at work found that this army standing idle at the shop gates was a more powerful weapon with which to crush labor than any military forces that their masters might have gathered to confront them.

Month by month the pittance paid for labor power grew smaller and smaller until when in 1876 the centennial of the Declaration of Independence was celebrated, it saw the working class of America in a condition of servitude far more pitiable than that ever endured by the col-

<sup>100</sup> "Report of Committee on R. R. Riots," Pa. State Doc's, 1878; Headley, "Pen and Pencil Sketches of the Great Riots"; Dacus, "Annals of the Great Strikes"; Scott, "The Recent Strikes," in N. Am. Rev., CXXV:351; McNeil, "The Labor Movement," p. 351; Adams and Sumner, "The Labor Problem," pp.—

onists beneath the tyranny of King George. As business began to revive the masters saw only the possibility of a greater increase of profits and continued to cut wages. Soon an attitude of desperate, blind revolt began to prevail among the workers. This reached its climax when Tom Scott, the President of the Pennsylvania Railroad, announced a ten per cent horizontal cut in the already starvation wages of the employes of that company. As other railroads announced their intention of making a similar cut the demand for a strike spread over the entire country. Yet there was no organization able to call a strike; there was no method by which to express any general revolt. So it was that the day for the reduction came and went and found the workers apparently bending in resignation beneath this final blow.

But on the 16th of July, 1877, a railroad train rolled into Martinsburg, W. Va., and as it stopped the train crew stepped from their places announcing that as for them they had decided it were better to starve in idleness than add to hunger and privation the added pain of labor. As they walked out through the yards they were joined by the other workers and within three days the strike had spread over the entire system, had reached Pittsburg, New York, and

Philadelphia, and had paralyzed the transportation system of the East. A few days later the wave of revolt swept over the Alleghenies, and extended into other branches of industry until something very like a general strike prevailed throughout the United States. Everywhere the mills, mines, factories and railroads stood still.

Then it was that the workers were forced to realize for the first time why the Civil War had been fought and for what purposes their masters desired the powers of government. Then for the first time in the streets of American cities was heard the crack of the militia rifle in civil war between capital and labor. In Pittsburg and Baltimore the battle was for some time by no means one sided. The militia were often overcome and the workers gained momentary mastery. But the laborers had no plan of action, nor any coherent idea of what to do and consequently were unable to use their victory when gained. Soon new reinforcements were brought up by the capitalists and the strike went down in bloody defeat. This struggle, however, showed the need of organization. Everywhere it was felt that had the workers been united, had they acted with intelligence, they might easily have won. We know to-day that the very unripeness which kept them unorganized would

also have prevented any effective victory, and that success of the workers at this time might indeed well have proved an obstacle to progress. How well they learned their lesson of the need of organization is shown by the events of the next few years.

## THE RISE OF THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR

The meteoric career of this organization has had few, if any parallels in the history of the labor movement of the world. For the first ten years after its founding in 1869 it barely existed, shrouding its proceedings in deepest secrecy, and concealing even its name from all outsiders. In the later years of this decade, with the increased growth of membership, this secrecy began to be dropped. In 1885, however, the membership had only reached one hundred thousand, but with the up-shoot of industry which was at its height during that and the following year, preceding the depression of 1887 and '88, and assisted by the great eight hour agitation of those years, the membership rose to nearly 700,000, during the single year 1886.

It was the eight hour agitation which was primarily responsible for this movement. There had grown up something almost like an eight hour religion which had set its Millennial Dawn for May 1st, 1886. This movement reached a height which is hard to understand by those

whose memory does not reach back to that time. Public meetings, propaganda pamphlets, newspaper and magazine articles all were preaching the necessity of a great general uprising of labor in support of the demand for shorter hours. To be sure the K. of L. officially disavowed any intention of lending support, but in spite of itself it was swept into the general movement. Strikes took place all over the country. Business was well nigh suspended, and once more, as in 1877, the country took on much the aspect of a general strike. In the midst of this excitement some fool, fanatic, or police spy, hurled a bomb on Haymarket Square in Chicago. The bourgeois mind, which had been thrown into something like a panic by the prospect of even the trifling diminution in their profits which the eight hour movement portended, saw its opportunity. All the forces of public opinion, a prostituted press and a bought judiciary were hurled against the remnants of the eight hour movement, and it died a miserable death on the scaffold of Cook County Jail.

The industrial boom, the eight hour craze and the Knights of Labor went down together. Moreover the organization had itself become the prey of that most destructive of all beasts of prey, the labor fakir.

The Richmond convention of '86 appropriated nearly half a million of dollars out of the common treasury. It raised the salary of all the officers and in fact tossed out the treasury surplus to the crowd of hungry wolves that were crying for plunder. From this time on the story of the Knights is but a story of sickness and death. Their demise was hastened by the fierce fight that was being made upon them by a new organization that had just arisen with the grandiloquent name of "Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada" and which we now know as "The American Federation of Labor." This organization had had a moribund existence since 1881. While we are told by the official histories of the organization that "107 delegates representing nearly one-fourth of a million men" met at Pittsburg in that year to form this organization, the truth is, that all but 43 of these delegates lived at Pittsburg, and that only three international bodies were represented; while the most liberal estimate based on the financial receipts, which amount to \$445.31 during the first year of its existence, show that the actual membership was somewhere between 25,000 and 35,000 members. There was very little growth in the organization until 1887 when the K. of L.



having started downward, the new organization rose upon the ruins. In this year its credential committee reports a membership of 600,000, but the financial committee reports dues from only 150,000. The real membership was something above the latter figure, but far below the former. Since then it has steadily grown up to the present time when the unions affiliated with it have a membership of something like one million and a half, or two million.

## THE AGRARIAN REVOLT

While the forces of labor were being thus drawn closer together on the economic field and the lines were growing sharper in the great battle between exploiter and exploited, a last desperate attempt was made by the class of small farmers to enter the political arena. Following the panic of 1873 we have seen that the Greenback movement arose, representing to some degree the farming and debtor class. Another movement which appeared simultaneously with this and which was pregnant with tremendous possibilities was the "Patrons of Husbandry," commonly known as the "Grange."<sup>101</sup> This organization maintained a bare existence from its nominal formation in 1868 until the time of the panic of 1873, when in that single year over eight thousand new organizations were founded to be followed by 11,941 in 1874, giving the Grange of that year a membership of between 700,000 and 800,000, with an annual income of

<sup>101</sup> Pierson, "The Rise and Fall of the Granger Movement," Pop. Sci. Monthly, Dec., 1887.

almost \$350,000.00. This movement soon found its political expression in parties of various names which succeeded in capturing several states and in enacting legislation restricting railroad rates, and otherwise voicing the demands of the farmer and small capitalist class. This legislation, however, brought forth practically no results, and was soon repealed.

Ten years later another farmer organization, the Alliance, had arisen to a strength almost equal to that of the Grange.<sup>102</sup> This movement ended in the formation of the Populist party, whose campaign may be looked upon as the last great stand of the frontier. Holding the same principles that we have seen the debtor class on the border of advancing society hold since the days of Shays' rebellion,—because of the fact that the last migration that filled up the great plains was larger than any other—it was enabled to obtain a strength such as was given to no previous stand of the debtor class on American soil. In 1892 their vote for President reached the high water mark of 1,550,424.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>102</sup> Morgan, "History of the Alliance."

<sup>103</sup> Pfeffer, "The Rise and Fall of Populism"; McVey, "The Populist Movement," *Am. Economic Studies*, Aug., 1896; Simons, "The American Farmer," pp. 141-150.

## THE LITTLE CAPITALISTS' FINAL FIGHT

The Populist movement was followed by and became a part of another movement representing a class now doomed to disappear as a decisive factor in American politics, but which for a generation had been struggling for the mastery. This was the little competitive employing class together with the small shop keeper and farmer. The tremendous concentration of industry which had taken place since 1890 had crowded this class to the verge of desperation.

The panic of 1893 was almost exclusively a panic of the small capitalist class. In 1873 the average capitalization of the firms failing was \$44,000.00. Twenty years later with the average industrial unit probably three times as large, the average capitalization of the firms failing during the panic of that year was less than \$25,000.00, while during the whole five years from 1893 to '97 there were only 86 failures involving over \$500,000.00 capital.

These desperate little capitalists, allied with

the railroad and mortgage ridden farmers of the Grange and Alliance, and financed to some degree by the silver mine owners, rallied around the flag of free coinage of silver under Bryan in the campaigns of '96 and 1900. We have in this campaign a confused combination of the cries of woe of all these various classes. Free coinage of silver was supposed to meet the pioneer and debtor class demand for depreciation of currency, while at the same time it brought in promise of rich returns to the silver mine owner. The campaign against trusts was expected to carry a healing balm to the little exploiters of labor who were being crushed out by the giant trusts.

## LATER STAGES IN CONCENTRATION.

But the powers of plutocracy had grown too great to be endangered by any class standing upon the foundation of private property, exploitation and the wage system. During the last half century the process of eliminating the small capitalist had gone steadily onward. This was shown not alone in the fact that the size of the average unit of industry had increased. This might have indicated simply that great businesses were growing up along side the smaller ones. But a table published in the volume on "Manufactures" of the United States census of 1900 shows that this movement really meant the swallowing of the less by the greater. This table, showing the number of establishments in the thirteen leading industries in the United States by decades between 1850 and 1900 is eloquent with the story of the disappearing middle class:

## NUMBER OF ESTABLISHMENTS.

	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900
Agricultural Implements..	1333	2116	2076	1943	910	715
Carpets and Rugs.....	116	213	215	195	173	133
Cotton Goods .....	1694	1091	956	1005	905	1055

Glass .....	94	112	201	211	294	355
Hosiery and Knit Goods..	85	197	248	359	796	921
Iron and Steel .....	468	542	726	699	699	668
Leather .....	6686	5188	7569	2628	1787	1306
Paper and Wood Pulp...	443	555	677	742	649	763
Shipbuilding .....	953	675	694	2188	1006	1116
Silk and Silk Goods.....	67	139	86	382	472	483
Slaughter'g & M't. P'kg.	185	259	768	872	1367	1134
Woolen Goods .....	1559	1260	2891	1990	1311	1035
Malt Liquors .....	431	1269	1972	2191	1248	1509
Totals .....	13514	13616	19349	18405	11617	11193

He who can read the language of figures will find in this table much of the industrial, and therefore the social and political, history of the last half century of the United States. He will note that by 1870 sufficient plants were in existence to supply the industrial needs of a market restricted by the wage system. Indeed it appears that there was a surplus of such plants, since the thirty years that have followed, and which have seen our population increase nearly fifty per cent, and the territory occupied well nigh double, as the western states have been filled up and the older states more thoroughly exploited, have seen less and less plants required in almost every great industry. This means that for a generation the opportunity to pass from the working class to the capitalist class has practically disappeared, and that the movement has, on the contrary, been proceeding in the other

direction and that thousands of the smaller capitalists have been forced into the ranks of the workers.

This table, after all, presents but a small portion of the truth. Methods of modern high finance,—the organization of “purchasing companies,” the control of “dominating industries” have really centralized property far beyond the point shown by these figures. A new force has entered into American industries in the organization of the trust which marks the disappearance of competition as the ruling industrial force and thereby points the passing of the so-called competitive system. So far has this process of trustification gone that a careful examination of the figures presented by John Moody in his work *The Truth About the Trusts* compared with development since that was written would seem to make it evident that at least thirty billions of dollars of the wealth of America have passed out of the competitive system into the control of a score or more of individuals.

Some idea of the power wielded by this body of men is gained when we remember that at the outbreak of the Civil War the total assessed value of the United States was but eighteen billion dollars. Had this handful of men now controlling the wealth of America been alive



and possessing the same financial resources which they now control they could have bought all that lies between the Atlantic and the Pacific, between the Canadian border and the Gulf of Mexico,—all the farms, and all the cities, all the churches, schools, and universities, all the southern plantations and all the chattel slaves upon them; and when this was done they would still have had sufficient capital to have gone to Europe and purchased a half dozen European monarchies as toys for their children.

This overwhelmingly powerful plutocracy now dominates every field of social control. The United States government has long ago become, in the words of *The Communist Manifesto*, a “committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie.” The United States Senate is little more than a directorate of consolidated capital. The press, platform and university are largely but tools to formulate and maintain the public opinion essential to the permanence of this plutocracy.

## THE LAST CLASS STRUGGLE

Against this tremendous power but one force is capable of maintaining an effective fight. This force is, like plutocracy, the creation of the great industrial age of to-day. This is the working class. We have seen them slowly gathering strength, solidarity and intelligence, blindly groping for better methods of organization, going down to apparently hopeless defeats before militia rifles and plutocratically dominated judiciaries, but like the fabled giant Anteus they are crushed to earth only to receive new strength and new energy for further fighting. Steadily the idea has grown among them that their fight must be transferred from the brute test of physical and financial strength on the economic field, to the political arena. Here the evolution of industry, the development of events that cast their shadows before have written a platform upon which the working class must stand. That platform sees in the consolidation of ownership, in the organization of industries, in the trusts, in the concentration of wealth with its merciless

inevitable onward movement, but a preparation for collective ownership and control. It sees in the ever recurring panics the death pangs of an old society, and in the ever growing solidarity of labor and capital with strikes, boycotts, lock outs, and injunctions, but the birth pangs of a new society in which for the first time in the world, the workers shall rule, and all shall be workers, and thereby rulership and slavery shall pass from off the earth.


Farmers learning at last the lesson of their helplessness and isolation, together with the inadequacy of their previous demands, are joining hands with the wage-workers where they find the strength that means victory for both; the program that means freedom for all.

In this great struggle we are now engaged there can be but one outcome. Previous class struggles in America have ever been waged in the interest of a minority, but that minority in the Revolution, in the formation of the Constitution, in the Civil War, in Reconstruction, always represented the forces of social progress. Therefore it was compact, consolidated and was able to secure the support of the workers for their fighting. To-day it is the working class which represents social progress, and which embraces all that is essential within our industrial


process. Moreover it is they who have done the fighting in all other wars, and who must now fight for themselves; and whereas in previous struggles the class that represented social progress was a minority depending upon the worker for support in its battle, the working class is to-day in an overwhelming majority and has but to make plain the facts of history to its membership to be assured of victory.

**A  
CATALOGUE  
OF  
BOOKS**





## BOOKS ON SOCIALISM MODERN SCIENCE, ETC.



### STANDARD SOCIALIST SERIES.

This series of books, the first volumes of which were issued in 1901, contains some of the most important works by the ablest socialist writers of Europe and America. The size of page is  $6\frac{3}{4}$  by  $4\frac{1}{4}$  inches, making a convenient shape either for the pocket or the library shelf. The books are substantially bound in cloth, stamped with a uniform design, and are mechanically equal to many of the books sold by other publishers at a dollar a copy.

1. **Karl Marx: Biographical Memoirs.** By Wilhelm Liebknecht, translated by Ernest Untermann. Cloth, 50 cents.

This personal biography of Marx, by an intimate friend who was himself one of the foremost socialists of Germany, gives a new insight into the beginnings of socialism. Moreover, it is a charming book, as interesting as a novel, and will make an admirable introduction to heavier reading on socialism.

2. **Collectivism and Industrial Evolution.** By Emile Vandervelde, member of the Chamber of Deputies, Belgium. Translated by Charles H. Kerr, Cloth, 50 cents.

The author is a socialist member of the Belgian Parliament and is one of the ablest writers in the international socialist movement. This book is, on the whole, the most satisfactory brief summary of the principles of socialism that has yet been written. One distinctive feature of it is that it takes up the difficult questions of how the machinery of production could be acquired and how wages could be adjusted under a socialist administration.

3. **The American Farmer: An Economic and Historical Study.** By A. M. Simons. Cloth, 50 cents.

"The American Farmer," in spite of its small size, is the largest contribution yet given to the agrarian literature of this country. The author, besides being a student of American social conditions, is thoroughly conversant with practical farming, and there is little doubt that the farmer who reads the work will have to admit that the conclusions are based on a real understanding of the difficulties of his struggle with the soil, with railroads, trusts and foreign competitors.—Chicago Tribune.

4. **The Last Days of the Ruskin Co-operative Association.** By Isaac Broome. Cloth, illustrated, 50 cents.

Socialism does not mean withdrawing from the class struggle and trying to set up a paradise on a small scale. If there are those who still think such a scheme practicable, they will find interesting facts in this book.

5. **The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.** By Frederick Engels. Translated by Ernest Untermann. Cloth, 50 cents.

Some people imagine that riches and poverty always have existed and therefore always will exist. Such people need more facts, and this book gives them. Engels has summarized and popularized the information given more fully in Morgan's "Ancient Society," and has also added many important facts from other sources and outlined some inevitable conclusions from the facts.

6. **The Social Revolution.** By Karl Kautsky. Translated by A. M. and May Wood Simons. Cloth, 50 cents.

Kautsky is the editor of the *Neue Zeit*, and is universally recognized as one of the ablest socialist writers and thinkers in Europe. This book is in two parts. Part I., *Reform and Revolution*, explains the essen-



tial difference between the socialist party and all reform parties. Part II., *The Day After the Revolution*, gives straightforward answers to the questions so often asked about what the socialists would do if entrusted with the powers of government.

7. **Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.** By Frederick Engels. Translated by Edward Aveling, D. Sc., with a Special Introduction by the Author. Cloth, 50 cents.

This book ranks next to the *Communist Manifesto* as one of the best short statements in any language of the fundamental principles of socialism. It is an essential part of every socialist library, however small.

8. **Feuerbach: The Roots of the Socialist Philosophy.** By Frederick Engels. Translated, with Critical Introduction, by Austin Lewis. Cloth, 50 cents.

This book is a criticism on the works of a forgotten philosopher, but it is still of timely interest, since attempts are still being made to reintroduce dualist notions into the philosophy of socialism. In this book Engels shows the importance of explaining history and current events in terms of science rather than of theology. Austin Lewis contributes an interesting historical introduction.

9. **American Pauperism and the Abolition of Poverty.** By Isador Ladoff, with a supplement, "Jesus or Mammon," by J. Felix. Cloth, 50 cents.

A study of the last United States census, bringing out in bold relief the social contrasts that are purposely left obscure in the official documents. An arsenal of facts for socialist writers and speakers.

10. **Britain for the British (America for the Americans.)** By Robert Blatchford, with American Appendix by A. M. Simons. Cloth, 50 cents.

A popular presentation of socialism, in the same charming and simple style as the author's "*Merrie England*," but giving a far more adequate and scientific account of the subject.

11. **Manifesto of the Communist Party.** By Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Authorized English translation: Edited and Annotated by Frederick Engels. Also included in the same volume, **No Compromise: No Political Trading.** By Wilhelm Liebknecht. Translated by A. M. Simons and Marcus Hitch. Cloth, 50 cents.

This manifesto, first published in 1848, is still recognized the world over as the clearest statement of the principles of the international socialist party. It has been translated into the language of every country where capitalism exists, and it is being circulated more rapidly today than ever before.

12. **The Positive School of Criminology.** By Enrico Ferri. Translated by Ernest Untermann. Cloth, 50 cents.

The science of criminology has been revolutionized within one generation by the socialist students of Italy, of whom Ferri is the most prominent living representative. This book is indispensable to any one desiring reliable information on the modern theory of crime and its treatment.

13. **The World's Revolutions.** By Ernest Untermann. Cloth, 50 cents.

A study of the economic causes of the great revolutions of the world's history in the light of the socialist principle of historical materialism.

14. **The Socialists, Who They Are and What They Stand For.** By John Spargo. Cloth, 50 cents.

Scientific yet readable and easy: written in a style that the man in the street will understand and the man in the university will admire. Just the book to start a new reader.

15. **Social and Philosophical Studies.** By Paul Lafargue. Translated by Charles H. Kerr. Cloth, 50 cents.

This book contains two studies entirely new to American readers, "Causes of Belief in God," and

"The Origin of Abstract Ideas." The satire on capitalist ethics is refreshing and Lafargue's brilliant style makes even the most abstract subjects delightful.

16. **What's So and What Isn't.** By John M. Work. Cloth, 50 cents.

This book was originally published in pamphlet form by the Appeal to Reason. It has proved exceptionally valuable from the fact that it gives convincing and forcible answers to all the stock objections to socialism. The present edition is the first to be printed in library style, and it has been carefully revised by the author, several new chapters being added.

17. **Ethics and the Materialistic Conception of History.** By Karl Kautsky. Translated by John B. Askew. Cloth, 50 cents.

This work, by one of the foremost European socialists, is one of the most important helps to clear thinking on a vital part of the socialist philosophy and its application. The author reviews ancient and Christian ethics, the ethics of the Renaissance, the ethic of Kant, and the ethic of Darwinism, and devotes the latter half of his book to a comprehensive study of the ethics of Marxism.

18. **Class Struggles in America.** Third Edition, revised and enlarged. By A. M. Simons. Cloth, 50 cents.

This work is a brief history of the United States in the light of the socialist principle of historical materialism. It has already run through two large editions in pamphlet form. It excited much comment and there were frequent requests for references to the sources of statements which seemed startling to those not thoroughly familiar with the subject. The present edition contains no less than one hundred of these references and it is invaluable to socialists desiring to make a thorough study of United States history.

## LIBRARY OF SCIENCE FOR THE WORKERS

Modern International Socialism is directly related to modern science. It is in a sense the evolution theory applied to the facts of society. It therefore follows that for a full understanding of socialism some general knowledge of the facts of modern science is necessary.

A new series of books has lately appeared in Germany which give in simple and popular form complete proofs of the evolution theory along with a clear account of the latest applications of this theory in the various fields of modern science. We have arranged to translate and publish some of the best of these, along with such original works in the same line as are available. They are uniform in size with the Standard Socialist Series.

1. **The Evolution of Man.** By Wilhelm Boelsche. Translated by Ernest Untermann. Cloth, 50 cents.

"The Evolution of Man" tells in full detail, in a clear, simple style, illustrated by pictures, just how the descent of man can be traced back through monkeys, marsupials, amphibians, fishes, worms and lower forms of life, down to the animals composed each of a single cell. Moreover, it proves that there is no such fixed line as was formerly thought to exist between the organic and the inorganic, but that the same life-force molds the crystal that molds the cell. It is not only simple; it is up-to-date and gives the latest discoveries in science. It is *the* book on the subject.

2. **Germes of Mind in Plants.** By R. H. Francé. Translated by A. M. Simons. Cloth, illustrated, 50 cents.

A cardinal point in the philosophical systems favored by the ruling classes is that the mind of man is something unique in the universe, governed by laws of its own that have no particular connection with physical laws. Modern science has proved that not only animals, but also plants, receive impressions from

the outside world and use the data thus obtained to modify their movements for their own advantage, exactly as human beings do. These facts are told in this book in so charming and entertaining a style that the reader is carried along and does not realize until later the revolutionary significance of the facts.

3. **The End of the World.** By Dr. Wilhelm Meyer. Translated by Margaret Wagner. Cloth, illustrated, 50 cents.

This book answers in the light of the discovery of modern science the questions frequently asked as to the probable end of human life on this planet. Moreover, it goes a step further in making clear the relations of man's life to the universe life. We have already seen that "mind" is but another form of "life." Dr. Meyer shows that not only animals and plants but even worlds and suns have their birth, growth, maturity, reproduction, decay and death, and that death is but the preparation for a new cycle of life.

4. **Science and Revolution: A Historical Study of the Evolution of the Theory of Evolution.** By Ernest Untermann. Cloth, 50 cents.

A history of the evolution of the theory of evolution, from the earliest scientific writings that have been preserved, those of the Greek philosophers, down to the present time. The author shows how the ruling classes, living on the labor of others, have always supported some form of theology or mysticism, while the working classes have developed the theory of evolution, which is rounded out to its logical completion by the work of Marx, Engels and Dietzgen. The author frankly recognizes that no writer can avoid being influenced by his class environment, and he himself speaks distinctly as a proletarian and a socialist. "Science and Revolution" is an essential link in the chain of evidence proving the conclusions drawn by socialists from the facts of science.

5. **The Triumph of Life.** By Wilhelm Boelsche. Translated by May Wood Simons. Cloth, 50 cents.

The German critics agree that this book is even more interesting than "The Evolution of Man," by

the same author. It tells of the struggle of life against its physical environment, and introduces a wealth of scientific detail charmingly set forth. The German original contains no illustrations, but our edition is fully illustrated with pictures that aid materially in an understanding of the text.

**6. Life and Death, a Chapter From the Science of Life.** By Dr. E. Teichmann. Translated by A. M. Simons. Cloth, 50 cents.

A study of how life begins and how it ends. It does not duplicate any other book in this series, but is a special investigation into the laws which govern the reproduction of life. It also deals with the methods by which the life of each separate individual is brought to an end, and shows that in an overwhelming majority of cases throughout the whole animal kingdom death is violent rather than "natural." Even among human beings a really "natural" death is rare. The author suggests that with improved conditions of living, most premature deaths may be prevented, and that in that event the fear of death, which causes so much of the misery of the world, may disappear.

**7. The Making of the World.** By Dr. M. Wilhelm Meyer. Translated by Ernest Unter-mann. Cloth, 50 cents.

This is a companion volume to "The End of the World," and traces the processes through which new suns and new worlds come into being to take the place of those that have grown old and died. It is an essential link in the chain of evidence proving that the human mind is not something apart from nature but only another manifestation of the one force that pervades all "matter." The book has twenty-four illustrations, for the most part reproductions of telescopic photographs, which make the truth of the statements in the book evident to every reader.

## THE INTERNATIONAL LIBRARY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE.

This new library, the first volume of which appeared in January, 1906, contains in substantial and artistic cloth binding some of the most important works on socialism and kindred subjects that have ever been offered in the English language. While our price has been fixed at a dollar a volume, most of the books in the library are equal to the sociological books sold by other publishers at from \$1.50 to \$2.00.

1. **The Changing Order.** A Study of Democracy.  
By Oscar Lovell Triggs, Ph. D. Cloth,  
\$1.00.

Dr. Triggs was a prominent professor in the University of Chicago, but he taught too much truth for Standard Oil, and is no longer a professor in the University of Chicago. This book contains some of the truth that was too revolutionary for Mr. Rockefeller's institution. It traces the inevitable rise of democracy in industry, in other words, of a working class movement that will take industry out of the control of capitalists. It also studies the necessary effect of this rising democracy on literature and art, on work and play, on education and religion.

2. **Better-World Philosophy.** A Sociological synthesis. By J. Howard Moore. Cloth, \$1.00.

I know of no book that so truly begins at the beginning of things, determined to know the truth, however harsh or naked it may appear, and then to build thereon an honest and effective optimism. I think that all our future philosophy will have to begin where Professor Moore begins; not with metaphysical speculations like the philosophers of old, but with the fearful facts of our life, and out of these fearful facts, out of the human soil and chance and struggle, forecast principles and prophecies that shall make the facts of life more beautiful than our most beautiful dreams.

GEORGE D. HERRON.

3. **The Universal Kinship.** By J. Howard Moore. Cloth, \$1.00.

I do not know of any book dealing with evolution that I have read with such keen interest. Mr. Moore has a broad grasp and shows masterly knowledge of the subject. And withal the interest never flags. The book reads like a novel. One is constantly keyed up and expectant. Mr. Moore is to be congratulated upon the magnificent way in which he has made alive the dull, heavy processes of the big books. And, then, there is his style. He uses splendid virile English and shows a fine appreciation of the values of words. He uses always the right word.

JACK LONDON.

4. **Principles of Scientific Socialism.** By Charles H. Vail. Cloth, \$1.00.

The most successful summary of Marxian Socialism ever written by an American author. It opens with a brief sketch of industrial evolution, then explains the theory of surplus value, and then enters into a comprehensive discussion of the advantages of socialism. The reviewer of the Chicago Daily News, of course an opponent of socialism, praises this book as "logical, sincere and restrained."

5. **Some of the Philosophical Essays on Socialism and Science, Religion, Ethics, Critique of Reason and the World at Large.** By Joseph Dietzgen, translated by M. Beer and Th. Rothstein. With a biographical sketch and some introductory remarks by Eugene Dietzgen, translated by Ernest Untermann. Edited by Eugene Dietzgen. Cloth, \$1.00.

These writings of Dietzgen round out the socialist thought on a side never covered in detail by Marx himself, who, by the way, gave the fullest recognition to the importance of Dietzgen's work. No one who wishes to understand socialism thoroughly can afford to miss reading Dietzgen. The book is far less difficult reading than its title might seem to indicate.



6. **Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History.** By Antonio Labriola. Translated by Charles H. Kerr. Second edition. Cloth, \$1.00.

Modern socialism cannot be understood without a knowledge of the principle of historical materialism. This is only outlined briefly in the writings of Marx, and it is best developed in these essays of Labriola. The book demands careful study, but it also repays careful study.

7. **Love's Coming-of-Age.** By Edward Carpenter. Cloth, \$1.00.

Only one who unites in himself the qualities of poet and scientist, as Carpenter does, can write understandingly of the sex relation. "Love's Coming-of-Age" is a work that will help men to understand women and women to understand men, and will help both to solve the new problems which changed economic conditions have introduced and will introduce into the relations of men and women to each other.

8. **Looking Forward.** A Treatise on the Status of Woman and the Origin and the Growth of the Family and the State. By Philip Rappaport. Cloth, \$1.00.

Rappaport is a thorough student of history and of law, and his book is an excellent complement to Carpenter's, in that he studies the historical basis of the marriage relation, and lays the foundation for logical conclusions as to the probable and necessary action of society in the near future as to the economic and legal status of woman.

9. **The Positive Outcome of Philosophy.** By Joseph Dietzgen. Translated by Ernest Untermann, with an introduction by Dr. Anton Pannekoek. Edited by Eugene Dietzgen and Joseph Dietzgen, Jr. Cloth, \$1.00.

This volume includes Dietzgen's three principal works, "The Nature of Human Brain Work," "Letters on Logic," and "The Positive Outcome of Philosophy." Joseph Dietzgen, a contemporary and co-worker of Karl Marx, has long been recognized by European socialists as one of the greatest writers on

the socialist philosophy. Our translations now bring these works for the first time within the reach of American students.

10. **Socialism and Philosophy.** By Antonio Labriola, author of "Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History." Translated from the Italian by Ernest Untermann. Cloth. \$1.00.

"Socialism and Philosophy" is comparatively easy reading. It is in the form of familiar personal letters to Sorel, the socialist who first introduced Labriola's writings to French readers. The style is simple, direct and forceful, while Labriola's thought is always keen and penetrating. The argument of the letters is a defense of the Marxian position against opportunism, sentimentalism and theories of "natural rights" and "eternal truths."

11. **The Physical Basis of Mind and Morals.** By M. H. Fitch. Cloth, \$1.00.

This work is a critical study of the evolution theory and its applications to social science and ethics. The author reviews the work of Darwin and Spencer, and shows how theology reappears under another form in many who think themselves evolutionists. What we call mind is produced by nerve tissue, and morality, like life itself, is a correspondence of the individual with his environment. The author develops and applies this thought in a series of interesting chapters.

12. **Revolutionary Essays in Socialist Faith and Fancy.** By Peter E. Burrowes. Cloth, \$1.00.

Fifty-six short essays, starting from the hard facts of materialist science, and building from those facts a delightful fabric of fancy. Each essay is condensed and thought-provoking; the book is not one to be read at a single sitting, but to be taken up again and again at leisure moments. The author is well known as a frequent contributor to leading socialist periodicals.

13. **Marxian Economics.** By Ernest Untermann.  
Cloth, \$1.00.

This author has already translated the second volume of Marx's "Capital" for publication, and is now at work on his final revision of the third and last volume. His present work is a distinct advance on any previous manual, since it is based on Marx's complete work, instead of the first volume alone, and at the same time it is written in easy and popular style. (In preparation.)

### THE SOCIAL SCIENCE SERIES.

These books are the cream of a library of over 100 volumes issued by a London publishing house. We import only such volumes as we regard especially important to students of socialism, and offer these on the same terms as our own publications.

**Work and Wages.** By Prof. J. E. Thorold Rogers.  
Cloth, \$1.00.

Shows that the real wages of the laborer, as measured by his standard of living, are actually lower now than in the fifteenth century.

**Civilization, Its Cause and Cure.** By Edward Carpenter. Cloth, \$1.00.

**England's Ideal, and Other Papers on Social Subjects.** By Edward Carpenter. Cloth, \$1.00.

Edward Carpenter is at once a profound student of social problems, an essayist with a most charming style, and a writer of true poetic insight. Everything he writes is worth reading.

**The Religion of Socialism.** By E. Belfort Bax.  
Cloth, \$1.00.

**The Ethics of Socialism.** By E. Belfort Bax.  
Cloth, \$1.00.

**Outlooks from the New Standpoint.** By E. Belfort Bax. Cloth, \$1.00.

**Story of the French Revolution.** By E. Belfort Bax. Cloth, \$1.00.

The Westminster Review calls Bax "by all odds the ablest of the British exponents of socialism," and there are certainly not more than one or two who could dispute the title with him. All of his books are easy and pleasant reading, and at the same time highly suggestive and valuable to the student of socialism.

**The Quintessence of Socialism.** By Dr. A. Schaeffle.  
Cloth, \$1.00.

This work is by an opponent of socialism, but an opponent who is usually fair as well as able. It is one of the best answers that can be found to the thousand and one objections to socialism that are based on nothing but ignorance or falsehood.

**Bismarck and State Socialism.** An Exposition of the Social and Economic Legislation of Germany Since 1870. By W. H. Dawson.  
Cloth, \$1.00.

**German Socialism and Ferdinand Lassalle.** A biographical History of German Socialistic Movements During the Nineteenth Century. By W. H. Dawson. Cloth, \$1.00.

These two historical works are of especial value in showing the diametrically opposite character of "State Socialism," as typified by Bismarck, and the international socialist movement.

**The Evolution of Property, From Savagery to Civilization.** By Paul Lafargue. Cloth, \$1.00.

This work shows that our modern capitalist system, far from being eternal and unchangeable, is really a recent innovation and contains within itself the germs of a better civilization that is to follow.

**The Student's Marx.** An Introduction to the Study of Karl Marx' Capital. By Edward Aveling, D. Sc. Cloth, \$1.00.

This book is a useful help to the study of Marx's great work.

**Ferdinand Lassalle as a Social Reformer.** By Edward Bernstein. Cloth, \$1.00.

A valuable historical work, not duplicating but supplementing Mr. Dawson's book on the same subject.

**Parasitism, Organic and Social.** By Jean Massart and Emile Vandervelde. Cloth, \$1.00.

In this book, a competent biologist and an able sociologist have united in drawing a striking parallel between two classes of parasites.

**Revolution and Counter-Revolution, or Germany in 1848.** By Karl Marx. Cloth, \$1.00.

Reprinted from letters written to the New York Tribune by Marx in 1851 and 1852.

**Overproduction and Crises.** By Karl Rodbertus. With an Introduction by Prof. John B. Clark, of Columbia University. Cloth, \$1.00.

A socialist solution, published in 1851, of a problem which is baffling orthodox economists today.

**The Origin and Growth of Village Communities in India.** By B. H. Baden-Powell, M. A., C. I. E. Cloth, \$1.00.

A scientific study of a remarkable survival of a phase of primitive communism in the British dominions today.

**The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844.** With Preface Written in 1892. By Frederick Engels. Cloth, \$1.25.

A social study of the highest importance. The reader cannot fail to note the analogy between conditions in England in 1844 and in South Carolina today.

**Socialism, Its Growth and Outcome.** By William Morris and E. Belfort Bax. Cloth, \$1.25.

This work is popular and entertaining in style, and is an excellent book for beginners.

**The Economic Foundations of Society.** By Achille Loria. Cloth, \$1.25.

Shows how systems of morality, laws and political institutions are the necessary outcome of economic conditions.

**OTHER SOCIALIST BOOKS**

**In Cloth Binding.**

**Capital: A Critical Analysis of Capitalistic Production.** By Karl Marx. Translated from the third German edition, by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling, and edited by Frederick Engels. First complete American edition, revised by Ernest Untermann, including the additions made by Frederick Engels to the fourth German edition, with topical index. Cloth, \$2.00.

"Das Kapital," in the original German, makes three large volumes, containing about 2,500 pages. Only the first volume has ever appeared in the English language as yet, and it has frequently been advertised in a way to convey the impression that it was the entire work. We have heretofore been supplying the London edition of the first volume. Our new edition, published in November, 1906, contains the same matter as this, with some important additions, including topical index. We have also in preparation an entirely new translation by Ernest Untermann of the second and third German volumes, which will make a complete and uniform edition of the entire work. The second volume will probably be issued in 1907 and the third in 1908. The exact date of publication and the price of each volume will be announced later.

**Ancient Society: or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress; From Savagery Through Barbarism to Civilization.** By Lewis H. Morgan, LL.D. Cloth, \$1.50.

The first edition of this great work was published in 1877. It has been recognized by the scholars of Europe and America as the highest authority on the subject of which it treats, and its conclusions are of the utmost value to socialists, since it proves that the system of private property, based on some form of chattel or wage slavery, is not eternal but comparatively recent. The circulation of this book has heretofore been very limited on account of its high price. The copyright has expired and we now offer this popular edition.

**God's Children.** A Modern Allegory. By James Allman. Cloth, 50 cents.

"God's Children; A Modern Allegory," is a sarcastic and almost cynical account of our present state of civilization written by an English radical, James Allman. It relates the experiences of an affable arch-angel in the city of London, the official emissary of omnipotence, and contrives to exhibit in small space as many disagreeable things that are crying for correction as can be well imagined.—Chicago Daily News.

The author is a man of more than ordinary literary ability, and his little work, "God's Children," is a credit to the socialist movement.—Labor, St. Louis.

**The Rebel at Large.** By May Beals. A volume of short stories. Cloth, 50 cents.

May Beals' stories are good literature and good socialism. The author has the sympathetic insight into human motives and feelings that enables her to give voice to the victims of capitalism who have suffered in silence. She has the artist-sense that makes her choose the words that will at once move the uncultured and satisfy the critical judgment of the cultured. And she has a firm grasp of the underlying principles of socialism. She does not preach socialism in these stories; she tells the stories in a way that enables every reader to draw the moral for himself.

**The International Socialist Review.** Volume I, 1900-1901. Cloth, \$5.00.

**The International Socialist Review.** Volumes II, III, IV., V., VI. Cloth, each \$2.00.

The International Socialist Review is a magazine of 64 pages, published on the 15th of each month. These bound volumes constitute the best obtainable history of the international socialist movement and of the socialist thought of the world for the six years ending June, 1906. Only a very few copies of Volume I. are still to be had.

**The Recording Angel.** By Edwin Arnold Brenholtz. Cloth, 287 pages, \$1.00.

I have just finished reading Comrade Brenholtz's latest book, "The Recording Angel," published by



Charles H. Kerr & Co. It stands alone in a class by itself as a book heralding the New Time. Brenholtz has a genius that will entitle him later on to be known as the Walt Whitman of the Social Revolution. He is a socialist in whom there is no guile—a comrade whose hand it is a pleasure to clasp. His book should be in the library of every Socialist—it can be loaned and reloaned to good advantage among your neighbors. I would suggest that you start a circulating library with “The Recording Angel” as the first volume.—Appeal to Reason (editorial).

**The Socialization of Humanity.** By Charles Kendall Franklin. Cloth, \$2.00.

The philosophy that we need today is one that can grapple with the live problems of society, and it is such a philosophy that the author here presents. The chapter on “The Supreme Law of Ethics” is a valuable addition to modern thought. As a philosopher, Mr. Franklin is practical, as a socialist he is philosophical. It is the first time that philosophy and socialism have joined hands.—Boston Transcript.

**The Sale of an Appetite.** By Paul Lafargue. Translated by Charles H. Kerr. Cloth, illustrated, 50 cents.

This is a realistic story of gay Paris, and at the same time a striking picture of the contrasts between the life of the working class and the owning class. It embodies a startling allegory, bringing out the fact that the laborer is obliged to sell his various bodily functions in order to live. Three original wash drawings by Dorothy Deene add to the vividness of the story.

**Walt Whitman. The Poet of the Wider Selfhood.** By Mila Tupper Maynard. Cloth, 145 pages, \$1.00.

Reverently critical throughout, it passes lightly over the faults, and points out with loving care the beauties in Whitman's poems.—Chicago Tribune.

To all lovers of Whitman this little gem of literature from the pen of a Western authoress will prove doubly dear. Not only is it one of the very few analyses of the man and poet, written and published in America, but it is the only one ever attempted by a woman.—Denver Post in half-page review.

**Poems of Walt Whitman.** Cloth, 75 cents, 341 pages.

Whitman lived and wrote before there was an American socialist movement, yet he is the poet of American socialism. He grasped the profoundest meanings of the new truths discovered by modern science, and he applied them to social relations emotionally while Marx was applying them scientifically. Those who would realize socialism as well as understand it should read Whitman.

**Rebels of the New South.** A novel. By Walter Marion Raymond. Cloth, \$1.00.

"This is a book new in every respect—style, expression, subject. It has the boldness of a Du Maurier, the originality of Amelie Rives, the dash of Dixon. \* \* \* The negro dialect is bright and always natural. The expressions used are worthy of a Joel Chandler Harris."—Richmond (Va.) News-Leader.

"The good people are all southern socialists, while the villains gravitate northward and become republicans. The best feature of the book is its negro dialect, which is artistic in its way."—Chicago Post.

**Modern Socialism.** By Charles H. Vail. Cloth, 75 cents.

Scarcely any book has yet been presented so copious in valuable quotations, so logical in its deductions or more successful in clearness of expression. It is worthy the perusal of any one interested in the social question, whether the person be a socialist or not. The exhibition of the principles of socialism and their result applied to society is of a character to interest the opposer as well as the supporter of the theory. It comes with the unmistakable evidence of careful and systematic preparation and is full of knowledge for the student and interest for the general reader. It has been unhesitatingly recommended by the leaders of socialist thought in America and as its increasing sales indicate has in it the true value which is appreciated by all students of sociology. The book is well printed and is indexed in a convenient manner for easy reference.—The Class Struggle.

**The Ancient Lowly: A History of the Ancient Working People, from the Earliest Known Period to the Adoption of Christianity by Constantine.** By C. Osborne Ward. Cloth, two large volumes, \$4.00. Either volume sold separately at \$2.00.

The class struggle between those who live by working and those who live by owning is as old as written history. But history has from the first been written by the retainers of the owning class and it is a task of the utmost difficulty to discover the real facts of the class struggle in ancient times. This task has been attempted and has been carried out in a really wonderful manner by C. Osborne Ward.

He has made a minute study of the Greek and Latin classics and has edited and arranged all the facts about the life and struggles of the working classes that have slipped into the writings of ancient historians. His study was not confined to published works but he carefully searched the great libraries of Europe for ancient manuscripts throwing light on his subject. Even this did not satisfy him and he journeyed hundreds of miles on foot through southern Europe and northern Africa and succeeded in finding many half-effaced inscriptions which he deciphered, thus bringing to light many undiscovered facts to complete his chain of evidence. A fuller description of these volumes will be found in "What to Read on Socialism," mailed on request.

**The Equilibration of Human Aptitudes and Powers of Adaptation.** By C. Osborne Ward. Cloth, 333 pages, \$1.50.

Contents: Mechanism of Society, dwarfing effect on the individual of competition; Piracy of Aptitudes; Plagiaries of Genius; Concord of Faculties; Fundamental Errors, objection to socialism refuted; General Averages, how the rewards of individuals will adjust themselves under collectivism; Comparative Claims, paternalism in behalf of privileged classes contrasted with co-operation by and for the workers.

**A Labor Catechism of Political Economy. A Study for the People.** By C. Osborne Ward. Cloth, 304 pages, \$1.00.

This book is written in the form of question and answer, and discusses in ample detail a great number of the problems incident to the transition from capitalism to the co-operative commonwealth. The first edition appeared in 1877, long before the existence of an American socialist movement, and it reflects to some extent the economic conditions of the time and place of its production, but the author was a careful student of the writings of European socialists, and most of what he has written makes excellent propaganda today.

## MISCELLANEOUS BOOKS.

**God and My Neighbor.** By Robert Blatchford.  
Cloth's \$1.00. (Also published in paper at  
50 cents.)

To those unfamiliar with the writings of the old and present day critics of the Bible and Orthodox Christian faith, this book would come almost as a revelation. It is hard to classify it; whether to describe it as the utterance of the resentment of a soul which has realized the shams of theology, or the expressions of a mind that has become convinced that Orthodox theology is and always has been inimical to the welfare of the worker; or whether it is the deliverance of one who has outgrown religion of any sort and who sees only the suffering of his fellows, and is passionately desirous of doing something to alleviate their woes. Indeed, the latter must be the truer note running through these pages which arraign the relation of the Christian churches to the common people, and show that ecclesiasticism is, as of old, the opponent of right and justice when they concern the slaves of the industrial world.—*Boston Banner of Light.*

**Thoughts of a Fool.** By Evelyn Gladys. Cloth,  
\$1.00.

This is a series of reflections on life's problems, discursive, as thought is discursive, effervescent with wit, often pregnant with profound philosophy. The author imagines that she is not a socialist. There is a passage in which she sets up a straw man, called socialism, and causes it to cut but a sorry figure. Eliminate this passage, however, and you have the most brilliant defense of the ideals of the co-operative commonwealth which American literature contains.—*Lilian Hiller Udell.*

**Gracia, a Social Tragedy.** By Frank Everett Plummer. Cloth, illustrated, gilt top, \$1.25.

This book, now in its fourth edition, is a story in blank verse of the ever-new tragedy by which a girl's sweetest and healthiest instincts may lead to her "ruin" under the social institutions built up by capitalism. The story is vivid, intense and dramatic, and the pictures are photographic art studies posed from life, which add distinctly to the impression produced by the story. The social questions involved are discussed in a booklet entitled "Was It Gracia's Fault," which will be mailed to any address for a two cent stamp.

## SOCIALIST BOOKS

### In Paper Covers.

**A Study in Government.** By Henry E. Allen.  
Paper, 5 cents.

This booklet is described on the title page as a pocket manual for use in the public schools and homes of America, treating of present political issues and their bearing on public welfare. It is especially adapted to propaganda use in the country or in a small town.

**Merrie England (Letters to John Smith, Workman).** By Robert Blatchford. Paper, 190 pages, 10 cents.

This book, written about ten years ago, has had a circulation in England and America of over two million copies. No other book, socialist or non-socialist, has even found so many readers in so brief a space of time, and the reason is that this book talks in a style every one can enjoy on a subject in which every one is interested. Scarcely any other book is so good as this to "start people thinking" on socialism.

**Socialist Songs, Dialogues and Recitations.** Compiled by Josephine R. Cole. Paper, 55 pages, 25 cents.

This book has been prepared in answer to a long-continued demand for a collection of "pieces" suitable for evening entertainments, and of a style not too difficult to be learned and recited by children. The book will be found indispensable to any socialist local or group of comrades who wish to arrange a meeting to combine entertainment with propaganda. Every selection teaches socialism in an indirect way, so as to interest the casual listener without arousing prejudice at the start.

It will also be found useful for children from socialist families who have to recite "pieces" at the public schools.

**Crime and Criminals.** By Clarence S. Darrow.  
Paper, 10 cents.

This is an address delivered to the prisoners at the county jail in Chicago. It shows the real cause of what is called crime and the real way to put an end to it.

**Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.** By Frederick Engels. Paper, 10 cents.

This is printed from the same plates as the cloth library edition which we sell at 50 cents, but is on thin paper with narrow margins, and is offered in this style for the benefit of those who wish copies to give away. It is one of the few books which are simply indispensable to any one wishing to understand modern socialism.

**The Day of Judgment.** By George D. Herron. Paper, 10 cents.

This book treats of the impending collapse of capitalism and the crisis with which the working class will be confronted when that collapse comes. He shows that it is of the utmost importance for the life of the future that socialists of the world be ready to act strongly and wisely when the crisis comes.

**Life of Frederick Engels.** By Karl Kautsky. Translated by May Wood Simons. Paper, 10 cents.

Engels was the close associate of Marx in the early days when socialism was just taking shape as a world movement, and this sketch of his life contains many facts which help in understanding what the socialist movement is today.

**Socialism and Human Nature, Do They Conflict?** By Murray E. King. Paper, 10 cents.

This is one of the most satisfactory answers ever written to the oft-repeated objection that we should have to change human nature before socialism would be possible.

**The Republic of Plato.** Translated in English by Alexander Kerr, Professor of Greek in the University of Wisconsin. Paper, 75 cents.

Professor Kerr has given the English language an adequate and excellent translation of "The Republic," that sketch of the ideal state outlined by the great philosopher. "The Republic" is interesting to students of sociology in that it is, perhaps, the first in that series of books including Sir Thomas More's "Utopia" and Bellamy's "Looking Backward."—Indianapolis Sentinel.

It is a real boon to students to have the "Republic" made accessible in English in this inexpensive form. —The Dial.

"The Republic of Plato" in the original Greek consists of ten books. Of these, five are now ready, each making a handsomely printed brochure of about sixty pages more or less, with dainty paper cover. Price of each book, 15 cents, postpaid.

**Socialist Songs with Music.** Compiled by Charles H. Kerr. Paper, 44 pages, 20 cents.

This song book contains thirty-six songs, thirty-three of which are printed with music, including piano accompaniment. It is the only American collection of songs breathing the spirit of International Socialism.

Socialist locals have found that through the means of this little book their meetings have been brightened, long waits have been relieved and a definite program is much more easily carried out.

**Socialism, What It Is and What It Seeks to Accomplish.** By Wilhelm Liebknecht. Translated by May Wood Simons. Paper, 64 pages, 10 cents.

This little book is an exposition of the socialist philosophy written in a clear and concise manner and gives a historical sketch of the growth of socialism in Germany. It is easy reading and well adapted to propaganda purposes.

**No Compromise, No Political Trading.** By Wilhelm Liebknecht. Translated by A. M. Simons and Marcus Hitch. Paper. 64 pages, 10 cents.

A most important work for the socialist movement at its present stage of development in this country. It shows the necessity for keeping clear of all entangling alliances with capitalistic parties.

**Capital and Labor.** By a Black-Listed Machinist. Paper, 203 pages, 25 cents.

This book contains no new ideas as to the socialist philosophy, but it does state that philosophy in a way that will attract and not repel the average trade unionist. We know of no other book on social-



ism that the average workman would be quite so likely to buy if put in front of him, or to read after buying it, or to act on after reading it.

**Manifesto of the Communist Party.** By Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Paper, 10 cents. (Also in cloth, bound in one volume with Liebknecht's "No Compromise." 50 cents.)

At present it is undoubtedly the most widespread, the most international production of all Socialist Literature, the common platform acknowledged by millions of workingmen from Siberia to California."—Extract from Engels' Preface.

"The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles."

Commencing with this postulate, the Manifesto of the Communist Party proceeds in a masterly manner to proclaim to the world the principles of that party, now known as the International Socialist Party.

**Katharine Breshkovsky—"For Russia's Freedom."**  
By Ernest Poole. Paper, 10 cents.

This is the true story of a Russian woman revolutionist who has been addressing immense crowds in American cities. "Daughter of a nobleman and earnest philanthropist; then revolutionist, hard-labor convict, and exile for twenty-three years in Siberia; and now a heroic old woman of sixty-one, she has plunged again into the dangerous struggle for freedom."

**The Economic Foundation of Art.** By A. M. Simons. Paper, handsomely printed, uncut edges, 5 cents.

This book, which is reprinted from "The Craftsman," a monthly periodical devoted to the interests of art allied to labor, published by the United Crafts, Eastwood, N. Y., is an excellent treatise. It deals better than most any other work on similar lines with the subject of the joy of working under proper conditions, and furnishes a fitting answer to the man who believes that people will stop working under socialism.

**Class Struggles in America.** By A. M. Simons. Second edition, revised and enlarged, 64 pages, paper, 10 cents.

In this book, as in the *American Farmer*, Comrade Simons has entered the almost unbroken field of American Economic history. Facts are shown here which prove with greatly added force the doctrine of historical materialism. To those who learned their history of America out of the standard school books this book will be a great surprise. Many idols are destroyed, but the vast amount of authorities quoted will convince any one of the theory which this book is intended to teach.

**Socialism vs. Single Tax:** A Verbatim Report of a Debate Held at Twelfth Street Turner Hall, Chicago, December 20, 1903. For Socialism: Ernest Untermann, Seymour Stedman, A. M. Simons. For Single Tax: Louis F. Post, Henry H. Hardinge, John Z. White. Paper, 25 cents.

This debate covers practically the whole field of difference between two schools of thought,—the socialist and single tax,—and socialists who have read it declare it to be one of the most complete refutations of the single tax position ever set forth. An interesting feature of the book is portraits of all of the debaters, and also of Karl Marx and Henry George. Wherever there are any remnants of single tax left, copies of this book should be on hand for sale by the socialist locals and every socialist should be familiar with its arguments in order to meet any phase of single tax which may arise.

**The Socialist Campaign Book.** Edited under the supervision of the National Campaign Committee of the Socialist Party. Price, 25 cents.

This book was prepared some years ago, but contains in convenient form a large amount of valuable information regarding industrial conditions and the distribution of wealth in the United States, which is not obtainable elsewhere. Only a few copies remain on hand, and as the book was not electrotyped it will be impossible for us to fill orders when these are exhausted.

**Underfed School Children—The Problem and the Remedy.** By John Spargo. Paper, 10 cents.

Statistics are given of the pitiable condition of many school children in the great cities of this country, and the degenerating effect of this wholesale, continuous starvation of the children is most vividly portrayed. This is followed with a description of the work done by the socialists in France, Italy, Norway and other countries in meeting this problem. Every school teacher and parent should read this pamphlet, and wherever socialists are engaged in municipal campaign it will be found extremely effective for both propaganda and educational purposes.

**Forces that Make for Socialism in America.** By John Spargo. Paper, 10 cents.

This recent pamphlet is one of the most effective pieces of propaganda that has yet been published. Its literary style is something out of the ordinary, and it deals in a concrete way with American problems, applying the principles of socialism to facts near at hand. The trust problem, the poverty problem and the growing intensity of the class war between capitalists and laborers are among the topics treated.

**The Socialist Movement.** By Rev. Charles H. Vail. Paper, 32 pages, with portrait, 10 cents.

This is an excellent book for the beginner in socialism as it gives thoroughly, in a simple manner, a treatise on the class struggle, the law of surplus value, economic determination, and shows that under socialism only will the golden rule become workable. It is a good book and has had a large sale.

**Modern Socialism.** By Rev. Charles H. Vail. Paper, 179 pages, 75 cents. (Also published in cloth, 75 cents.)

**Principles of Scientific Socialism.** By Rev. Charles H. Vail. Paper, 237 pages, 35 cents. (Also published in cloth at \$1.00.)

These two books, described more fully elsewhere in this catalogue, are at once simple and scientific, and are well adapted to put into the hands of inquirers who have as yet read nothing on socialism.

**The Kingdom of Heaven is at Hand.** By C. W. Wooldridge, M. D. Paper, 64 pages, 10 cents.

This is an excellent book for giving to a minister or a church member. It shows how the teachings of Jesus lead directly to socialism, and it moreover gives a strong argument for the common ownership of the means of production.

**The Root of All Kinds of Evil.** By Rev. Stewart Sheldon, Paper, 10 cents.

This book is by a prominent Congregational minister, who has never been actively identified with the socialist movement, and whose studies have been along wholly different lines from those usually followed by socialists. It is noteworthy for the fact that from these different premises he has arrived in his own way at the socialist position, and holds that "evil" actions are the result of unfavorable economic conditions, and that the way to modify people's character for the better is to modify these conditions. It is thus one of the best books to put into the hands of religious people as an introduction to our more scientific literature.

**A Socialist View of Mr. Rockefeller.** By John Spargo. Paper, 5 cents.

Rockefeller is a picturesque figure which in the popular mind stands for modern capitalism. Spargo, in his usual vigorous and charming style, has here written of the millionaire in a dispassionate and convincing way which will appeal to many who have as yet given no serious thought to socialist ideas. The pamphlet is handsomely printed, and carries a unique picture of Rockefeller on the front page.

**POCKET LIBRARY OF SOCIALISM.**

(Booklets of 32 pages, envelope size, 5 cents each.)

1. **Woman and the Social Problem.** By May Wood Simons.
2. **The Evolution of the Class Struggle.** By Wm. H. Noyes.
3. **Imprudent Marriages.** By Robert Blatchford.
4. **Packingtown.** By A. M. Simons.
5. **Realism in Literature and Art.** By Clarence S. Darrow.
6. **Single Tax vs. Socialism.** By A. M. Simons.
7. **Wage-Labor and Capital.** By Karl Marx.
8. **The Man Under the Machine.** By A. M. Simons.
9. **The Mission of the Working Class.** By Rev. Charles H. Vail.
10. **Morals and Socialism.** By Charles H. Kerr.
11. **Socialist Songs.** By William Morris and Others.
12. **After Capitalism, What?** By Rev. William T. Brown.
13. **Rational Prohibition.** By Walter L. Young.
14. **Socialism and Farmers.** By A. M. Simons.
15. **How I Acquired My Millions.** By W. A. Corey.
16. **Socialists in French Municipalities.** A compilation from official reports.
17. **Socialism and Trade Unionism.** By Daniel Lynch and Max S. Hayes.
18. **Plutocracy or Nationalism, Which?** By Edward Bellamy.
19. **The Real Religion of To-Day.** By Rev. William T. Brown.
20. **Why I Am a Socialist.** By Prof. George D. Herron.
21. **The Trust Question.** By Rev. Charles H. Vail.
22. **How to Work for Socialism.** By Walter Thomas Mills.
23. **The Axe at the Root..** By Rev. William T. Brown.
24. **What the Socialists Would Do If They Won in This City.** By A. M. Simons.
25. **The Folly of Being "Good."** By Charles H. Kerr.
26. **Intemperance and Poverty.** By T. Twining.
27. **The Relation of Religion to Social Ethics.** By Rev. William T. Brown.
28. **Socialism and the Home.** By May Walden.

29. **Trusts and Imperialism.** By H. Gaylord Wilshire.
30. **A Sketch of Social Evolution.** By H. W. Boyd Mackay.
31. **Socialism vs. Anarchy.** By A. M. Simons.
32. **Industrial Democracy.** By J. W. Kelley.
33. **The Socialist Party—Platform, Constitution, Etc.**
34. **The Pride of Intellect.** By Franklin H. Wentworth.
35. **The Philosophy of Socialism.** By A. M. Simons.
36. **An Appeal to the Young.** By Peter Kropotkin.
37. **The Kingdom of God and Socialism.** By Rev. Robert M. Webster.
38. **Easy Lessons in Socialism.** By William H. Leffingwell.
39. **Socialism and the Organized Labor Movement.** By May Wood Simons.
40. **The Capitalists' Union, or Labor Unions, Which?**
41. **The Socialist Catechism..** By Charles E. Cline.
42. **Civic Evils.** By C. H. Reed.
43. **Our Bourgeois Literature, the Reason and the Remedy.** By Upton Sinclair.
44. **The Scab.** By Jack London.
45. **Confessions of a Drone.** By Joseph Medill Patterson.

These forty-five books will all be mailed to one address on receipt of \$1.25.

The books described in this catalogue are not to be found in most bookstores. The quickest and safest way to get them is to write to the address on the first page. Prices include postage, and any book in the list will be mailed promptly on receipt of price.

















UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY

Los Angeles

This book is DUE on the last date stamped below.

3  
1-

APR 25 1990

LD  
URL DEC 07 1985

1 R-

5



3 1158 00297 7345

HN  
64  
S612c  
1907

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY



AA 001 177 658 0

